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THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY:

A STUDY OF CURRICULUM AND FACTORS THAT DETERMINED
ITS DEVELOPMENT IN THE FACULTIES OF
ARTS AND THEOLOGY

by

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A THESIS

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,
a thesis entitled "The Medieval University: A Study of
Curriculum and Factors that Determined Its Development in
the Faculties of Arts and Theology" submitted by Henry
Hodysh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to examine and trace the main factors that determined the curriculum in the faculties of arts and theology in the medieval university.

The study, though essentially a narrative, does contain interpretive sections. It is divided into four main parts.

The first section assesses the expectations of medieval society as it determined the role of curriculum. It was found that the influence of the Church directly or indirectly permeated most aspects of medieval life. This resulted in many of the students conducting their studies in the areas of the liberal arts and theology. Governmental positions also required arts preparation for such occupations as notaries and royal advisors.

The second part of the study shows that texts in the faculties of arts and theology were based on classical and early Christian sources and the influx of Greco-Arabic learning that flooded Europe's intellectual centers about 1200. In arts, prior to the thirteenth century, the writings from classical Greece and Rome formed the basis of the Seven Liberal Arts. The knowledge and methods presented by these civilizations were adapted by Christian intellectuals. The early Christian heritage, though affected by pagan literature, was founded on Holy Writ and the writings of the Fathers. St. Augustine, for example, modified Neoplatonic thought to fit the mold of Christianity. Subsequent ideas by Scotus Eriugena, St. Anselm and Peter Lombard constructed the framework of scholasticism,

which was to be fully developed by about 1250.

It was the Judaeo-Arabic influences, however, that most dramatically altered the nature of studies. The work of Arabic, Jewish and Christian translators provided a stimulus to philosophico-theological thought, culminating in the balance of faith and reason as exemplified in the writings of Aquinas.

The last aspect of the study examined the importance of medieval intellectual development by official Church and university control. Here, ecclesiastical forces were observed to condemn or approve writings in the faculties of arts and theology. In 1210, for example, works of Amaury of Bene and of Aristotle were interdicted, while in 1255, Aristotle received the Church's official blessing. The prohibition of 1277 was noted as a medieval landmark, for it was then that the whole of naturalism in philosophy and theology was attacked, thereby stifling the growth of scholasticism and consequently effecting great changes in the curriculum. In a lesser degree, prerequisite studies for the higher faculties of law and medicine, as well as theology, affected the curriculum in arts.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE PURPOSE

Statement of Main Purpose

The main purpose of this study is to examine and trace the factors that determined the curriculum¹ in the faculties of arts and theology in the medieval university.

Statement of Specific Purposes

The study has four specific purposes:

1. To examine the general interaction between the university and medieval society as this affected the role of the university and subsequently the course of studies.
2. To investigate the effect of the intellectual heritage from the age of antiquity upon the faculty of arts.
3. To examine the effect of the intellectual heritage from the age of antiquity upon the faculty of theology in light of scholasticism.
4. To examine the importance of prerequisite studies, regulations and statutes for the use of individual authors and texts as they shaped curricula and tempered the intellectual

¹Curriculum will refer to the course of studies represented through writings, texts and key doctrinal positions. It will exclude teaching procedures and techniques of evaluation unless otherwise stated.

atmosphere of the Middle Ages.

II. DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The thesis centers about the faculties of arts and theology dealing with the varied factors that determined these programs of studies. Although the role of the university in medieval society is examined to indicate the general nature of the university and its studies, the specific value of arts as a prerequisite to such professions as law and theology will be investigated to determine the significance of the arts curriculum in attaining these objectives. The influx of "new learning" and its effect upon university and ecclesiastical authorities will be examined as prime factors in specifying texts in the faculty of arts and the faculty of theology.

Although the study will concentrate on the period from A.D. 1000 to 1300 and dip into the age of antiquity in tracing specific influences upon curriculum, it will not attempt a detailed review of studies in every medieval university, nor will it examine the complete range of texts and authors in all faculties at any particular university. It will, however, investigate the primary factors that shaped the general use of texts, authors and related studies in representative institutions as they modified curriculum in arts and theology.

III. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Numerous investigations of medieval universities have been com-

pleted and the many aspects of their development studied. H. Rashdall's² work is indeed a landmark which is yet to be surpassed. Recently, however, the studies of Haskins,³ Kibre,⁴ Thorndike,⁵ Paetow,⁶ Pieper⁷ and Mallett,⁸ supplemented by the writings of Abelson,⁹ Knowles,¹⁰ Laistner,¹¹

²H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages (eds.), F. Powicke and A. Emden (First edition 1895, 3 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1936).

³C. Haskins, The Rise of Universities (Ithaca, New: Cornell University Press, 1957).

⁴P. Kibre, Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America, 1962).

⁵L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

⁶L. Paetow, The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric (Champaign, Illinois: Illinois University Press, 1910).

⁷J. Pieper, Scholasticism (London: Faber and Faber, 1960).

⁸C. Mallett, The Medieval University and the Colleges Founded in the Middle Ages (Vol. 1 of A History of the University of Oxford in 3 vols.; London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1924).

⁹P. Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts (New York: Teachers' College Columbia University, 1906).

¹⁰D. Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962).

¹¹M. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900 (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1957).

Hughes,¹² Gilson,¹³ and Taylor,¹⁴ have added to a growing knowledge of medieval and university life in particular.

Although Paetow¹⁵ has investigated the arts course in medieval universities generally, Gilson¹⁶ has explored the history of Medieval philosophy, and Feret¹⁷ and Thorndike¹⁸ have examined the statutes and regulations of certain universities in the Middle Ages, a synthesis of these and similar studies bearing upon the development of curriculum in the faculties of arts and theology is still to be attempted.

¹²P. Hughes, The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils, 325-1870 (Garden City, New York: Image Books, Doubleday and Co., 1964).

¹³E. Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York: Random House, 1955).

¹⁴H. Taylor, The Medieval Mind (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962).

¹⁵Paetow, op. cit.

¹⁶Gilson, op. cit.

¹⁷P. Feret, La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et Ses Docteurs Les Plus Célèbres (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1894).

¹⁸Thorndike, op. cit.

CHAPTER II

THE UNIVERSITY: ITS ROLE IN MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

The medieval university, born in a utilitarian age, can rightly be called "a child of the times". Characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the formative years of university development, was the uncontested dominance of the Christian Church, an institution which permeated the whole of medieval society. F. C. Hearnshaw, reflecting on this bond of Church and men, advances the following thesis:

They accepted the faith of the Cross as expounded by their clergy as their guide not only in matters celestial, but also in matters appertaining to the brief probationary term of earthly existence: it controlled their politics, regulated their industry and commerce, ordered their social relations, monopolised their education and inspired their literature and art.¹

Extreme though this judgment appears, the strength of the Church was established and its unity comparatively untroubled by division and heresy, excepting the schism of East from West and the Babylonian Captivity.²

The years 1000 - 1380 were undoubtedly the culmination and crown of the Middle Ages. European civilization with its Judaeo-Christian and Graeco-Roman tradition was the civilization of the entire continent of Europe. It was no longer confined to Mediterranean lands, nor was it

¹ F. C. Hearnshaw, Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1921), p. 28.

² W. Ferguson, Europe in Transition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), p. 227.

diluted with barbarism. This was the period of the High Middle Age and, in Western Europe, the Catholic Church.³ The papal monarchy under Gregory VII (1073-1085) and Innocent III (1198-1216) reached the height of earthly magnificence.⁴ The thirteenth century, opening with Innocent III's pontificate, was marked by the labours of St. Thomas Aquinas and ended with the genius of Dante's Divine Comedy, whose literary contribution is appraised in the following manner:

Nowhere can we find a more perfect expression of the power and the glory of the medieval cultural achievement which reached from Heaven to Hell and found room for all the knowledge and wisdom and all the suffering and aggressiveness of medieval humanity in its all-embracing vision of judgement.⁵

Contemporary with Dante was Benedictus Cajetanus Anagni (Pope Boniface VIII) whose "pontificate marked the highest pretensions, and, at the same time, proved the impotence of the papacy."⁶

The thirteenth century was filled with the presage of change. The papacy itself "had become involved in mortal conflict with its creature the Holy Roman Empire, and in the course of the struggle had prostituted its spiritual powers to the beset ends of secular ascendancy."⁷

³C. Hayes, M. Baldwin and C. Cole, History of Europe (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 223.

⁴H. Davis, Medieval Europe (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 84-86.

⁵C. Dawson, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture (Garden City, New York: Image Books, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1958), p. 216.

⁶O. Thatcher and F. Schwill, Europe in the Middle Ages (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 577.

⁷Hearnshaw, op. cit., p. 35.

The unity of Christendom, shattered by this development, was further wounded by the growth of English, French, Spanish, German and Italian "national particularism."⁸

A new intellectual ferment and social unrest was experienced that became dominant in the fourteenth century--"early modern times" were in embryo. Three causal factors stand out as prominent in this subtle change: the crusades, a revival of commerce, and the translated heritage of classical antiquity. Scholasticism, following on the heels of these events was, broadly speaking, a reflection of Augustinian theology and Aristotelian philosophy--a force which in itself prepared the ground for the approaching revolt against ecclesiastical authority.⁹

The classical revival and its "modern" spirit which followed was marked by a changed attitude toward the universe and man, and this, coupled with an ineffectual Conciliar Movement¹⁰ and a brand of Renaissance rationalism, created forces uncontrollable by the Church, thereby ending a great and fascinating epoch of human history.

It was this background that saw the birth, growth and decline of

⁸ Davis, op. cit., pp. 115-134.

⁹ C. Dawson considers the second half of the thirteenth century a period of revolutionary change when Europe accepted the cultural torch from the East. "Now for the first time Europe is forced to follow untrdden ways and to find new goals, and at the same time becomes conscious of its own powers, critical of accepted traditions and ready for new ventures." Dawson, op. cit., p. 217.

¹⁰ The failure of the Conciliar Movement "to achieve effective reforms demonstrated the incapacity of the . . . Council, torn by national jealousies, to deal with deeply-rooted evils that were protected by long-established vested interests." Ferguson, op. cit., p. 233.

the university in the Middle Ages--an institution medieval in thought and design.

I. SOCIETY AND THE ROLE OF THE EMERGENT UNIVERSITY

J. Walsh, in considering the medieval university, makes the following pointed observation:

It is interesting to note that the first medieval university was founded in connection with a medical school . . . the second in connection with a law school . . . and the third with a school of philosophy and theology. It has been suggested that this succession of events in the history of the early universities of the Middle Ages presents a rather striking symbol of the comparative intensity of man's personal preoccupation with himself and his environment. He is interested first in his body, then in his possessions, and finally in the question of the afterworld and his relations to God and to his neighbor.¹¹

This indicates the operation of an extremely practical institution identifiable by three characteristic features:

1. A wealth of traditional learning of such interest to man's mind and so essential to his welfare as a member of society that a need for specialization arose.
2. An expression of lay feeling in relation to the work of lawyer, physician and theologian.
3. Study in the faculty of arts as prerequisite to the specialties of philosophy, theology, law and medicine.¹²

¹¹J. Walsh, High Points of Medieval Culture (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1937), p. 91.

The institutions under discussion are Salerno, noted for medicine, Bologna famed for law and Paris noted for philosophy and theology.

¹²S. Laurie, The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1907), pp. 100-101.

These factors, embodied within an independent spirit, are central to the practicing relationship between the emerging university and the society of which it was a product.

Having no antique prototype, the university nevertheless adopted a rich cultural heritage which soon became part of an intellectual revolution, quickened by the discovery and exploitation of the corpus of Aristotelian writings during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a rebirth of ecclesiastical and Roman law, and the writings of the Greek medical tradition.¹³ To these general influences can be ascribed the move towards corporativism,¹⁴ which greatly affected the university's organizational structure.

Special environmental conditions prescribed the role of Bologna and Paris--the two archetypal universities. Bologna, whose founding is linked to the survival of Roman Law in the Italian peninsula and to "the revival of trade and town life,"¹⁵ was admirably positioned from both geographic and political points of view.

When, in the eleventh century, Northern Italy advanced to prosperity and political importance, due partly to the economic progress of its cities, and partly to the activity of Emperors and Popes, the interpretation of Lombard laws in tribunals made rapid progress, and assumed the character of systematic and reflective study.¹⁶

¹³L. Daly, The Medieval University (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), p. 17.

¹⁴Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, p. 5.

¹⁵Haskins, The Rise of Universities, p. 7.

¹⁶P. Vinogradoff, Roman Law in Medieval Europe (London and New York: Harper and Bros., 1909), p. 38.

The revival of jurisprudence in the twelfth century and its acceptance as a university study directly and indirectly concerned the whole of medieval society,¹⁷ including the organization and systematization of law in areas ruled by local custom, the growth of bureaucracy and royal power, and a spread of the literary habit. The civilizing nature of this development is amplified by H. Rashdall in the following reference:

From a broad political and social point of view one of the most important results of the universities was the creation, or at least the enormously increased power and importance of the lawyer-class. Great as are the evils which society still owes to lawyers, the lawyer-class has always been a civilizing agency. Their power represents at least the triumph of reason and education over caprice and brute force.¹⁸

The modification of legal and political institutions, whether through direct adoption¹⁹ or infiltration of canon law, thus typed the university at inception not only as a vehicle of cultural transmission but a forerunner of progress.

The University of Paris as a purposeful establishment reverts to its affiliation with the episcopal school of Notre Dame. Medievalist M. De Wulf figuratively accounts for the birth of Paris University in the ensuing passage:

It arose not indeed through a decree of the government or a committee of trustees, but as a flower grows from its stem,

¹⁷ C. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 218.

¹⁸ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 457.

¹⁹ Laurie, op. cit., p. 126.

by a natural convening of masters and pupils; for their number had multiplied as a result of the constant development of studies.²⁰

The procession of students towards Paris--more youthful than their counterparts of jurist universities--created an intellectual guild²¹ providing outstanding instruction in philosophy²² and theology.

Among the conditions conducive to the rise of universities were the growth of commerce, the founding of towns,²³ and the formation "of strong governments with consequent tranquility."²⁴ One of the results of these conditions was the increased leisure for a larger number of people that made the pursuit of learning possible.

Bologna and Paris are but two instances of universities adapting to the growing needs of medieval society; similar patterns are discernible

²⁰M. De Wulf, Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1922), p. 66.

²¹The university as a medieval guild is examined by Daly, op. cit., p. 20, in the following terms. "Some scholars have seen in the widespread guild movement a natural model for the university. In this opinion scholars, like the merchants and craftsmen organized in a guild system, and thus the university was but the effect of "corporativism" on the intellectual level. This may well have been so, but the documentary proofs have not as yet been discovered in sufficient quantity to trace such a development."

H. Rashdall argues that the university was only a "particular kind of guild". Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 151-163.

²²Laurie, op. cit., p. 108.

²³W. Boyd, The History of Western Education (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1952), p. 130.

²⁴F. Eby and C. Arrowood, The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 756.

in the formation of Salerno, Montpellier, Vienna, Cracow and other centers.

The clarification and definition of the idea of "university" within the matrix of society resulted in unique relationships between these centers of learning and society itself, exemplified in definitive roles towards individual, Church and state.

II. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE UNIVERSITY

For man in the medieval era, the university was a school for professional preparation and not, as in many places today, an institution functioning as a "finishing school" to one's secondary education. Rashdall reveals the following situation:

To the great mass of the younger students . . . the university was simply the door to the Church; and the door to the Church at that time meant the door to professional life. The key to a right idea of the relation of the northern universities to the Church lies in an appreciation of this fact.²⁵

C. Dawson traces the abiding concern of the Church in university affairs by suggesting "that the creation of the universities . . . formed part of the far-reaching design of the medieval Papacy for the intellectual organization of Christian civilization. . . ."²⁶ The tie between Catholic Christianity and university is evident in all phases of professional

²⁵ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 445. Rashdall notes, however, that the motive was different for "those large numbers of older men who got leave of absence from their benefices under pretext of study in the universities. To such men the good company, the excitements, the licence of a university town afforded a welcome relief from the monotonous routine of the cathedral close or the isolation of a country living." Ibid.

²⁶ Dawson, op. cit., p. 197.

life:

Nearly all the civil servants of the Crown, the diplomatists, the secretaries or advisors of great nobles, the physicians, the architects, at one time the secular lawyers, all through the Middle Ages the ²⁷ then large tribe of ecclesiastical lawyers, were ecclesiastics.

The roots of the medieval university, planted largely but not exclusively in ecclesiastical ground,²⁸ were connected to the granting of Church benefices²⁹ which in turn uniquely affected the role of the university as related to the student.

If he continued to reside and teach in the university, he might in time get a prebend or a living by means of the rotulus beneficiandorum and papal provision; or university distinction³⁰ might directly recommend him for the highest

²⁷ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 446. The connection between university and papacy as well as monarchy (refer to footnote 29) is partly accounted for in the following excerpt: "The purposes of Gregory IX and the French royal government in establishing the University of Toulouse are apparent from the Treaty of Paris, 1229. The new studium was intended to assist in the eradication of heresy, and in the pacification of Languedoc after the long Albigensian wars." C. Smith, The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages (Milwaukee: The Marquette University Press, 1958), pp. 205-206.

²⁸ J. R. Highfield confirms this position in observing that many ecclesiastics were trained in what are now considered non-religious studies--particularly in civil law. J. F. Highfield, "The English Hierarchy in the Reign of Edward III," Royal Historical Society Transactions (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1956), Fifth Series, Vol. VI, p. 130.

²⁹ A medieval student upon graduation was usually employed by a Church or state organization, often depending upon the nature of financial support he received. A careful study of this is made by F. Pegues, "Royal Support of Students in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum XXXI (July, 1956), 454-462.

³⁰ " . . . popes continued to single out for honours ecclesiastics who had been connected with the Studium of Toulouse. In 1351 there is a record of a permutation of offices in the cathedral chapter whereby the chancellorship passed from Raymond de Canillac, who had recently been

preferment.³¹

The power of papacy and Church in determining one's professional success³² through the attainment of benefices is presented in the following reference:

It was a form of investment in which a very large number of masters and students recurrently, if irregularly, took shares in the hope of gaining a return in the form of some benefice which would provide them with increased means of support. It is true that there is not a little doubt concerning the worth of this investment in terms of benefices actually acquired, for the mere obtaining of a grace of expectative provision was only the first of several hurdles which might have to be crossed before the desired fruits could be enjoyed.³³

The biographical registers³⁴ of both Oxford and Cambridge clearly indicate that many of their students were bound to ecclesiastical duties upon graduation, often serving as canons, vicars or chaplains.

Although the Church governed much of the student's conduct in

created cardinal-priest of Santa Crace in Gerrusaleme, to Geraud de Lambes. Not to be outdone by his predecessor, Benedict XII, Innocent VI also honored the university in 1362 by elevating to the cardinalate two of its masters, one of whom was actually regent there at the time."
Smith, op. cit., p. 103.

³¹Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 446.

³²F. D. Blackley notes that many of the bishops of Edward III's reign were university trained. See F. D. Blackley, "Bishops and Learning in the Reign of Edward III," Canadian Historical Association (Toronto: 1958), p. 38.

³³D. Watt, "University Clerks and Rolls of Petitions for Benefices" Speculum XXXIV (April, 1959), 223.

³⁴A. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) and Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

in northern Europe, in southern Europe where

... the law of the country was more or less entirely based upon civil law the universities were the ordinary places of education for the great legal profession, which in the south was in the main a lay profession. In Italy, a degree in civil law was the passport to lay public employment of every description, while the medical profession was at once more important and less clerical than in England or northern France.³⁵

The influence of the university's professional preparation extended directly or indirectly into almost all corners of society.

Kings and princes found their statesmen and men of business in the universities--most often no doubt, among those trained in the practical science of law, but not invariably so. Talleyrand is said to have asserted that theologians made the best diplomatists. It was not the wont of the practical men of the Middle Ages to disparage academic training.³⁶

Proof of intellectual influence on the nobility³⁷ is produced by J. W. Thompson in The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages, where he observes that medieval rulers were often advised in matters of government by a highly educated class.³⁸

Turning from the role of the medieval university in its unique relationship to the individual, we consider a number of events that

³⁵ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 445.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 456.

³⁷ J. Thompson, The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages (New York: Burt Franklin, 1960), p. 139.

³⁸ Referring to the university of Toulouse, C. Smith states that the ". . . university had won the approbation of the local community, for its graduates were to be found even among the capitouls, the chief magistrates of the city; and many others had become prominent officials in the local ecclesiastical establishments." Smith, op. cit., p. 206.

characterized the university's responsibility towards Church and state.

III. CHURCH, STATE AND THE UNIVERSITY

An investigation of university-church-state relations may be conducted through a study of the University of Paris--an institution outstanding in affairs of state and unsurpassed in ecclesiastical politics.³⁹

First to a study of the university's relationship to the Church.

Although the University of Paris possessed four faculties, it was especially famous for its teaching of philosophy and theology, . . . Paris outstripped by far the University of Oxford which was its only rival in this particular field. Thus, Paris became the philosophical center of the West, the international 'rendezvous' for all those who were interested in speculative thought--and their name was legion.⁴⁰

With the development of scholastic theology, Paris became the theological arbiter of Europe.⁴¹ Movements such as Averroism bowed to the pressure of Orthodox Christianity which ultimately prevailed at the great University.

The power of Paris as a theological gendarme⁴² of the Church is evidenced by the following excerpt:

. . . in matters of pure theology the conflicting tendencies of the great Mendicant orders neutralized the influence which

³⁹ H. Taylor, The Medieval Mind (Vol. II of 2 vols.: Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 418.

⁴⁰ De Wulf, op. cit., p. 72.

⁴¹ Taylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 313.

⁴² Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 549.

they might have had if united. Thus it was left to the theological faculty of Paris to hold the balance between them, and on such questions her will was almost supreme. Again and again Paris led the way and Rome followed.⁴³

A typical instance of the university's pervading influence is found in the place occupied by Paris in the controversy surrounding the "retardation theory". Pope John XXII had openly sided with the Franciscan doctrine proclaiming the "retardation of the heavenly vision."⁴⁴ The dispute was settled after Parisian doctors condemned the "retardation theory" and presented their stand to Pope John XXII with royal approval.

The reply of John XXII is as humble and apologetic as if he were a young student at Paris in danger of losing his bachelor's degree for heresy. He apologizes for venturing to express an opinion upon a theological question when he is not a doctor of divinity; . . .⁴⁵

The university as arbiter of theological issues and conciliator of current opinion is illustrated not only in the direct machinations of doctrinal disputes but in battles between seculars and mendicants,⁴⁶ and later in its stand on the Great Schism.

The university's function in medieval society is further clarified by examining university-state relations. Popes and kings alike vied for patronizing these intellectual concerns thereby inevitably

⁴³ Reference can here be made to the Immaculate Conception controversy whose outcome was greatly affected by the University of Paris.

⁴⁴ P. Hughes, A History of the Church (Vol. III of 3 vols.; New York: Sheed and Ward, 1947), pp. 153-155.

⁴⁵ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 533.

⁴⁶ Smith, op. cit., p. 149.

drawing them into the domain of politics.⁴⁷ The University of Paris is a splendid example of a "school" developing from a condition of dependence, and in the process of growth assuming the precarious role of political judge for France, if not for the whole of Europe.

Here under the very palace of a despotic king, in the midst of subjects almost without municipal privileges, and placed under the arbitrary authority of the royal provost, was a body of educated men protected by the sanctity of their order against the hand of secular justice, possessing the right of public meeting, of free debate, and of access to the throne. And the tendency of a body so situated to become a great organ of public opinion, a channel through which the Court might address itself to the nation and the voice of the nation might reach the Court. . . .⁴⁸

C. Gross remarks that the "learned doctors . . . seemed indeed often to have become more interested in the strife of party factions than in the disputationes of their scholars . . ."⁴⁹ thereby acting as though a

⁴⁷"The reason for the emperor's beneficence in thus singling out the scholars as particularly worthy of imperial solicitude, protection, and favour are obscure. Frederick I himself asserted that he did so since the whole world is illuminated by their learning and because one could not help but feel compassion for those 'who for love of learning choose exile and poverty, and divest themselves of their patrimony while exposing themselves to every peril and suffering what must be most grevious to endure. . . .'" It also appears that Frederick I desired to reward Bolognese professors who supported his right of the imperium. P. Kibre, Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1962), pp. 10-11. Citing after a translation from the Latin. H. Koeppel, "Frederick Barbarosa and the Schools of Bologna. Some remarks on the 'Authentica Habeta,'" English Historical Review, LIV (1939), 577-607, with the text at p. 607.

⁴⁸Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 541.

⁴⁹C. Gross, "The Political Influence of the University of Paris in the Middle Ages," American Historical Review VI (1900), 440.

division of the state⁵⁰ rather than a school of learning.

An example of the university's concern with politics and good government occurred when

. . . the rector and divers "solemn" doctors admonished the Duke of Orleans to look to the reformation of the realm and to effect a reconciliation with the Duke of Burgundy. Louis of Orleans angrily retorted: 'As you do not consult knights in questions of religion, so you ought not to meddle in questions of war; therefore return to your own affairs, for though the University is called the daughter of the king, she should not interfere with the government of the kingdom.'⁵¹

The university, however, was not easily silenced and its voice of appeal was heard in the Cabochien rising as a national issue and within international reference to French-English disputes,⁵² illustrating in the latter a sense of "justice" as well as patriotic fervor.⁵³

The university's role was never static because it met the demands

⁵⁰"At the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158, . . . it was the famous four Doctors of Bologna who are named by Rahewin as giving the opinion regarding regalian rights upon which the Emperor Frederick I acted when he asserted his almost forgotten prerogative against the Lombard cities . . ."
H. Rashdall, "Medieval Universities," The Cambridge Medieval History (1929), VI, 597, Also see footnote 46.

⁵¹Gross, op. cit., pp. 440-441, Citing the Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, (Paris: 1897), Pt. IV, p. 135.

⁵²Gross remarks that the University of Paris politically supported both England and France on different occasions. Gross, op. cit., p. 442.

⁵³Nationalism at the University of Toulouse is exhibited under Charles VII when the "university manifested its patriotic joy" following the reconquest of France from England. Smith, op. cit., p. 181

It is significant to note that many of Europe's medieval universities gradually lost their independence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as they became firmly established in definite locales and concerned themselves with political issues.

of a changing order. Time, place, and circumstance, often affecting its function, only heightened the significance of the institution as servant, guide, and oftentimes director in both the practical and theoretical concerns of society.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL DETERMINANTS IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS

Having considered the role of the university in medieval society, it is evident that the faculties of arts and theology are in many ways the two basic faculties, in fact if not in principle, which are keys to the understanding of "university" and all that it represented during the Middle Ages.

In the investigation of the determining factors of curricula in these academic institutions, particularly in the faculties of arts and theology, it is necessary to study the past--even to the age of antiquity.

I. HERITAGE OF THE PAST

Indelibly etched in the historical backdrop are the natural, moral and rational philosophies of Aristotle, together with his Logic and Rhetoric--prime determinants of curricula in the faculty of arts. Of these, logic, rhetoric and grammar were the trivium whereas the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy provided in some universities the foundation of higher studies for learning within the faculty of arts itself. The importance of Aristotle's contribution is reflected in the countless translations, interpretations, and commentaries upon his works.

Aristotelian writings affecting the arts program included the

Organon, Politics, Economics, Rhetoric,¹ Nichomachean Ethics, de Anima, Physics, Metaphysics, de Animalibus, de Caelo et Mundo, Meteorica, de Generatione, Parva Naturalia, de Morte et Vita, de Plantis and the Liber de Causis.² Although these writings were eventually included in the arts course, their availability and general acceptance depended on the dates of their discovery. H. O. Taylor arguing the greatness and later influence of Aristotle's leadership, observes that "the Philosopher" effected

... an actual school . . . , and assisted by the co-operation of able men, he presents himself, with what he accomplished, at least in a threefold guise: as a metaphysician and the perfector, if not creator of formal logic, as an observer of the facts of nature and the institutions and arts of men; as a man of encyclopaedic learning. These three phases of intellectual effort proportioned each other in a mind of universal power and appetition.³

Thus the scholarship of Aristotle and his subsequent interpreters affected the curriculum composition in the faculty of arts.

Significant commentaries⁴ are made by Porphyry (232?-304) in the Isagoge, who in addition poses but does not resolve the vexing issue of

¹Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, p. 446.

²Rashdall, op. cit., pp. 442-444. Rashdall attributes the de Plantis and the Liber de Causis to Aristotle though he is doubtful of their authorship. Knowles attributes the Liber de Causis to Plotinus' disciple Proclus. Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 194.

³Taylor, The Medieval Mind, Vol. I, p. 37.

⁴F. Copleston, Medieval Philosophy (Vol. II, Part 1 of A History of Philosophy. 6 vols.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1962), p. 119.

"universals"⁵ thereby opening the door to further discussion on this topic by Anicius Boethius (480-524). Boethius coupled a sound mastery of Greek with a no less uncommon acquaintance of Aristotelian and Neo-platonic philosophy in an attempt to translate into Latin the whole corpus of Aristotle and Plato.⁶ Although falling short of his ambitious task, Boethius did write the de Musica, de Arithmetica, de Geometrica, de Consolatione Philosophiae, de Disciplina Scholarium⁷ in addition to commentaries on Aristotle's Categories and Cicero's Topica.⁸ Much of Boethius' work found its way into the arts curricula but a most outstanding development is his adoption of scholastic technique in analyzing, defining, and explaining basic Christian doctrine.⁹ His writings also provided fuel for studies centering on ideas such as "nature," "providence" and "eternity"--issues hotly debated by the "medievals".¹⁰

⁵The celebrated issue of "universals" had wide bearing on the course of medieval intellectual development. Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 110, cites a translation of Porphyry by Boethius as taken from Migne, PL lxiv 82 presenting the "universal" issue in the ensuing quotation:

"Now concerning genus and species, whether they have real existence or are merely and solely creations of the mind, and, if they are separate from the things we see or are contained within them--on all this I make no pronouncement."

⁶Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900, pp. 60-61.

⁷Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 448.

⁸Laistner, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

⁹Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 106.

¹⁰Knowles, op. cit., p. 54.

Although Boethian writings and fragments of Aristotle had always been available prior to the eleventh century,¹¹ it was not until the dialectical revival of Gerbert of Aurillac, Fulbert, Berengar and Anselm, later supplemented by the Summulae of Petrus Hispanus and the Parva Logica¹² of Marsilius of Inghen that logic as a separate study gained import in the faculty of arts. The interest of these men in logic and its application to "concepts" and "terms" provided the groundwork for later epistemological and metaphysical connotations, kindled first by Porphyry's Isagoge and carried to its height of effectiveness by Pierre Abelard.¹³

The relevance of Abelard's work to the faculty of arts, as well as to law and theology must be considered. His procedure of debate and dialectic not only resulted in a clarification of the Porphyrian enigma on "universals",¹⁴ but technically influenced the work of his pupil Peter the Lombard in his Sententia, which dominated the curricula in the faculty of theology and indirectly that of the whole of university studies.

¹¹Ibid., p. 93.

¹²F. Powicke, "Some Problems in the History of the Medieval University," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Fourth Series), XVII, 10.

¹³Knowles, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁴P. Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts, p. 83. Abelson attacks the concept held by Rashdall that logic and metaphysics were hopelessly intertwined in medieval thought. Abelson insists that the separation of logic from metaphysics was evidenced as far back as Aristotle and remained so throughout the medieval period.

Within the field of rhetoric, primary historical influences bearing upon arts were related to Cicero's¹⁵ de Inventione, de Oratore, the pseudo-Ciceronian ad Herennium in conjunction with the pseudo-Quintilian's Declamationes, Gilbert de la Porree's Sex Principia and possibly Quintilian's Institutes.¹⁶ These works can be traced through the commentaries of Boethius¹⁷ and the dialectical methods of Abelard.

Additional writings by Julius Victor, Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus,¹⁸ and Aristotle¹⁹ also made their appearance in association with the rhetorical art.

A unique growth of rhetoric allied to the practices of documentation and composition was the ars dictaminis.²⁰ Its influence upon the

¹⁵De Wulf notes that Cicero was employed as a point of reference for both logic and rhetoric. See M. De Wulf, History of Medieval Philosophy (Vol. I of 2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935), p. 66.

¹⁶Paetow, The Arts Course at Medieval Universities, p. 68. Laistner notes that Cassiodorus was active in translating the works of Quintilian. Laistner, op. cit., p. 173.

Rashdall suggests that "Quintilian, though little known, was not so entirely lost as is sometimes supposed. . . ." Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 36n.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 68-69. Paetow associates Boethius' Topics (Bk. 4) and the Barbarismus with works of rhetoric. He refers to the idea that the Barbarismus, in the Battle of the Seven Arts as having deserted the camp of Grammar to fight on the side of Logic, Ibid.

¹⁸Abelson, op. cit., pp. 56-67. Abelson contends that the phrase Seven Liberal Arts was first used by Cassiodorus. Ibid.

¹⁹Paetow, op. cit., p. 69. This note is in reference to the curriculum at Oxford in 1431.

use of Latin writing particularly as related to the faculty of arts at Bologna cannot be overlooked. The Artes Dictandi are traced to university studies by C. Haskins from its inception by Albericus of Monte Cassino. However, a direct association is made with Albert of Samaria and the University of Bologna where the new study was established in the early years of the twelfth century.²¹

The art of drafting official letters or documents--for the official documents of the Middle Ages inherited the Roman epistolary form--had, it is true, not disappeared in the early Middle Ages, being kept alive by notaries and royal clerks; but it was a rigorously practical art, taught by the imitation of standard types and collection of forms, and with no freedom or spontaneity of expression.²²

At Bologna, the ars dictandi in relation to the specialization of law became the ars notaria.²³ In 1235, the legalist Buoncompagni da Signa extols rhetoric over logic and vehemently attacks those influences which tended to belittle its value.²⁴

²¹Abelson, op. cit., p. 62.

²²C. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Meridian Books, Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 140.

²³Ibid., p. 142.

²⁴"Buoncompagni da Signa on the New Rhetoric, 1235," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 41-46.

In his attack on Boethian logic and philosophy, Buoncompagni makes the following remark:

"The first was the authority of Boethius, bright with philosophy's rays, who has called the rhetoric of the ancients an empty part of learning, firmly maintaining that the rhetoric of the ancients consists in precepts alone without common utility. Wherefore I say that to divide and subdivide, define and describe to give precepts and always issue orders is nothing else than to emit thunder and not lavish rain." Ibid., p. 44.

The influence of dictamen was soon felt in France, particularly at Orleans where its close association with the classical studies of the arts faculty provided congenial soil for its growth.²⁵

However, the aim in the teaching of grammar remained the same, whether taught as a university²⁶ subject or as a preparation for university study.²⁷ As Abelson states:

There can be no doubt that in the teaching of grammar, the practical aim--the acquisition of the language for proper intercourse--was always realized.²⁸

In addition to clear communication, the study of grammar was expected to promote correct living according to Christian standards. The selection of reading matter was made with these ends in view.²⁹

Fundamental writings in the study of Latin language were the Maior and Minor of Priscian later replaced by the Doctrinale and "gloss" of Alexander of Villa-Dei (circa 1199).³⁰ For three hundred years Alexander's work was the common manual of grammatical teaching throughout western Europe. Reasons for its wide use appear to be the following:

²⁵Paetow, op. cit., p. 69. Orleans was an exception to the arts faculty in that the classics were prized in preference to technical grammars. Ibid., p. 72.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷See Appendix A.

²⁸Abelson, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁹Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰Taylor, op. cit., p. 155.

1. The entire grammar was in versified form and hence memorization, a necessity in an age of book scarcity, was easily employed.
2. The grammar met practical requirements of the living language of the day by Latinizing Teutonic words and introducing many words from the scriptures.
3. Priscian's syntax of the previous seven centuries was outdated and Alexander's treatment of the logical aspects of grammar appealed to the tenor of the age.
4. Alexander's prosody was a recognized improvement over the text of Priscian.³¹

The Graecismus³² and Labyrinthus of Eberhard of Bethune³³ were also in use in the study of grammar. These works were later criticised by John Garland, a Parisian professor, who in his Compendium grammaticae evaluated the works of earlier grammarians and sowed new literary seed by returning to the spirit of the classics.³⁴ De Wulf contends that, "In grammar the Latin Classics, Virgil, Seneca, Horace, Terence,

³¹ Abelson, op. cit., p. 43.

³² Ibid., p. 45.

³³ Rashdall, op. cit., p. 448.

³⁴ Paetow, op. cit., p. 43.

Juvenal, . . . and certain Christian writers such as Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and Boethius were also read.³⁵ This was particularly significant at Bologna where grammar was taught with illustrations taken from Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan and Juvenal.

Additional works of a secondary nature in grammar were the Summa of Petrus Helias, a commentary on Priscian's first fifteen books by Robert Kilwardby, and studies by Michael of Marbois, Johannes Balbus Januensis, Duns Scotus and Ludolf of Luchow.³⁶

Although the trivium came first in the arts program,³⁷ the quadrivium with geometry, music, astronomy and arithmetic were not entirely omitted and occupied places of particular significance at the universities of Oxford and Vienna. In many instances, there were no texts available for the quadrivium,³⁸ but at Oxford music³⁹ was studied with the aid of de

³⁵De Wulf, op. cit., p. 54. Paetow suggests that the classical studies fell during the period of university growth, excluding the exceptional institution, even though the studies were convincingly defended by the medieval humanist John of Salisbury. At Paris the study of poetry was opposed by Peter Comestor, Chancellor in 1164 whereas Alexander of Villa-Dei attacked humanists of Orleans. Paetow, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

³⁶Abelson, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

³⁷Ibid., p. 90. Abelson opposes the traditional view of Rashdall and Laurie that the quadrivium was of secondary import to the trivium. S. Laurie, The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities, pp. 63-64, and Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 36.

³⁸Rashdall, op. cit., pp. 449-450. Paris makes little mention of texts for the quadrivium. Ibid.

³⁹Abelson, op. cit., p. 130. Music, a branch of "mathematics" was for Church purposes only. Ibid.

Musica⁴⁰ and supplemented by Bede, Pythagoras, and Vitellio's Perspectiva.⁴¹

In geometry, plane figures and Pythagorean triangles were supplemented by the teachings of Euclid.⁴² The writings of St. Augustine⁴³ and Bede were associated with arithmetic while "the Almagest of Ptolemy, the de Sphaera of the Englishman, John of Hollywood, the Perspectiva Communis of another Englishman, John Pecham" were other mathematical⁴⁴ works required by German legatine statutes.⁴⁵ Astronomy, of great interest at Prague and Oxford were programmed to the Theorica Planetarum or the Almagest of Ptolemy.⁴⁶

Aristotle's writings, as related to the higher study of philosophy, have been noted earlier. To these were added the Tractatus of Albert of Saxony and the Questiones of Buridan.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Mallett, History of Oxford, Vol. I, p. 182.

⁴¹ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 155.

⁴² Abelson, op. cit., p. 117.

⁴³ H. Parker, "The Seven Liberal Arts," English Historical Review, V (1890), 436. Parker argues that many historians have claimed that St. Augustine "accredited" the liberal arts. Parker is dubious of this argument and insists that Augustine, in many references opposed over-concern with arithmetic and the pagan arts. Ibid.

⁴⁴ Laurie, op. cit., p. 61. "Mathematics" is applicable to the whole of the quadrivium as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music were based on a mathematical foundation. Ibid.

⁴⁵ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 449.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 155.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 448.

Thus a pattern of the liberal studies, which had been well-established as early as the fifth century,⁴⁸ tended to fix the traditional bounds of the medieval curriculum in arts instruction.

It is with the heritage and general understanding of popular works of the liberal arts in mind that we now turn from these early historical determinants to the influx and establishment of "new learning" that so radically transformed the course of events in the faculty of arts.

II. THE INFLUX OF LEARNING

Developments emanating from the East exercised a considerable influence on the intellects of medieval humanity and the arts program. From 1100-1270, European medieval thought was reshaped by the passage of "new" logical, scientific⁴⁹ and philosophical works from the pens of both Christian and non-Christian scholars. Prior to the twelfth century, evidence of studies bearing on the faculty of arts is related to early medievalists such as Boethius and Abelard. Certain writings particularly of the Aristotelian school were not extant in Europe and only passed to Paris after translation and commentary by influential Arabic, Christian and Jewish writers. The question is cogently presented by Haskins in his Studies in the History of Medieval Science where he suggests the

⁴⁸ F. Butts, A Cultural History of Western Education (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1955), p. 101

⁴⁹ The term "scientific" applies here to works of the quadrivium.

following:

The decline of the classics before the triumph of the scholastic logic, the diffusion of the Aristotelian metaphysics and natural philosophy, the introduction of new texts in grammar and mathematics, the rise of Arabian medicine--these are some of the changes which made the curriculum of the fourteenth century a very different thing from that of the twelfth.⁵⁰

Knowles postulates two factors as being largely responsible for bringing about Aristotle's prominence.

On the one hand, the outward thrust of the northern peoples into South Italy, the East and especially into Spain, brought them into contact with centers of civilization, hitherto unfamiliar, which contained treasures from the past of which they had hitherto had no knowledge; on the other hand, this very expansion was part of a new energy and capability of the same peoples, which in the intellectual sphere was manifested by a new curiosity and ability to use any new aid to knowledge and thought that might be discovered.⁵¹

The whole of Aristotle's works did indeed arrive and this in itself was a significant fact. Equally significant was the manner of their arrival and the vehicles by which they were conveyed, for these determined the quality and the extent of the influences. The works reached Europe in a sporadic fragmentary way, heavily contaminated by additions thought to be Aristotelian, and accompanied by commentaries often extremely valuable but also frequently tendentious and even misleading.

⁵⁰C. Haskins, Studies in the History of Medieval Science, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 357.

⁵¹Knowles, op. cit., p. 186.

In the twelfth century, four centers of exchange activated the development of this disinterested desire for knowledge--Syria, Constantinople, Sicily and Spain.⁵² Shortly after the first crusade, Stephen of Pisa in 1114 is found translating medieval writings while at Constantinople both Pisans and Venetians are transmitting from Greek the whole corpus of Aristotelian logic in addition to patristic contributions.⁵³ Sicily under the Hohenstaufen monarchy served as a theatre of interchange for both Aristotelian and Platonic writings. "Nevertheless, the broad fact remains that the Arabs of Spain were the principal source of the new learning for western Europe."⁵⁴ Here, Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo, Adelard of Bath,⁵⁵ Gerard of Cremona and Dominic Gundisalvi translated not only the treasures of Ancient Greece but those Greek and Jewish commentaries upon Neoplatonian and Aristotelian themes.⁵⁶

Prior to A.D. 1100, logic was based primarily on the translations of Boethius. These included the so-called Old Logic of the Categories

⁵² F. Copleston, Medieval Philosophy, (New York: Harper and Bros. 1961), pp. 60-68.

⁵³ Haskins, Studies in the History of Medieval Science, p. 144.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁵ In England, Adelard of Bath was a key figure pioneering the movement of translation. His studies "remain comprehensive and fundamental, alike with reference to geometry, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and his advocacy of the experimental method." C. Haskins, "The Reception of Arabic Sciences in England", English Historical Review XXX (1915), p. 61.

⁵⁶ Copleston, Medieval Philosophy, p. 61.

and De interpretatione⁵⁷ in addition to the Posterior Analytics which for unknown reasons lay dormant⁵⁸ until translated with the remainder of the New Logic in the second quarter of the twelfth century--indicating a spirited interest in proposition, syllogism and fallacy as evidenced in the Analytica Priora, Analytica Posteriora, Topica and de Elenchis Sophistics. By the close of the twelfth century four Latin versions of the Posterior Analytics were extant--the work respectively of Boethius, James of Venice, who translated in Constantinople,⁵⁹ an anonymous translation of a Toledo manuscript, and the work of Gerard of Cremona in Spain.⁶⁰

Many of the writings specifically associated with the natural sciences appeared in Europe at the turn of the twelfth century. From Italy, through Greek sources, Aristippus produces Book Four of Aristotle's Meteorology,⁶¹ while the Optics and Almagest of Ptolemy are translated by Eugene the Emir⁶² (circa 1154). The scientific and mathematical bent of Sicilian works is recognized in the Data, Optics, and Categories of

⁵⁷Haskins, Studies in the History of Medieval Science, p. 223.

⁵⁸Knowles suggests Boethius translated all the writings of Aristotle. Knowles, op. cit., passim, pp. 51-55.

⁵⁹Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, p. 294.

⁶⁰Haskins, Studies in the History of Medieval Science, p. 238.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 163.

⁶²A. Crombie, Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 116, note 5.

Euclid⁶³ while the Iberian translators, particularly Michael Scot, (circa 1220), restored Aristotelian writings on animals,⁶⁴ the commentaries of Averroes on "the Philosopher" and al-Bitrogi's On the Sphere. The movement of scientific manuscripts from Spain and Provence was Arabic in its origins as was that in part from Southern Italy.

Haskins observes that the Physics, Metaphysics and briefer works on natural history reached Western Europe about 1200; the Politics, Ethics, Rhetoric and Economics arrived in the course of the next two generations.⁶⁵ This fact poses two probabilities: the shorter translations were accomplished first because of length and hence arrived sooner at Paris, and the involved philosophical treatises, in the beginning, were of little interest--until employed by the masters in the arts faculty.

According to the studies of C. Haskins the translations appear to have moved on three main routes--from Arabic, to Hebrew, to Latin; from Arabic to local Spanish idiom and thence to Latin; and directly from Greek to Latin.⁶⁶

At their best the Arabic versions were one remove further from the original and had passed through the refractory medium of a wholly different kind of language, while at their worst they were made in haste and with the aid of ignorant interpreters

⁶³ Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, pp. 299-300.

⁶⁴ Crombie, op. cit., p. 46.

⁶⁵ Haskins, op. cit., p. 299.

⁶⁶ Robert Grosseteste is also held responsible for the translation of Greek manuscripts, especially that of Aristotle's Ethics, supposedly one of the first available copies in Northern Europe. Mallett, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 62-63.

working through the Spanish vernacular.⁶⁷

This resulted in Proclus' Liber de Causis and Books IV-VI of Plotinus' Enneads, later entitled the Theologia Aristotelis, as being attributed to Aristotle when in actual fact they were often doctrinal syntheses of ancient writings. Consequently

. . . thinkers and theologians were occupied for almost a century, first in absorbing and explaining Aristotle, and next in examining and particularly rejecting the body of Arabian, Jewish and Neoplatonic thought that arrived along with the later portions of Aristotle.⁶⁸

It is thus evident that formative aspects in the arts curriculum are frequently colored by elements of interpretation--especially those of Arabic origin--and hence a brief review of their key philosophical positions is in order.

Islamic philosophy cannot be considered a singular unified whole for its systems were produced through individual interpretations and given similarity by the ideas of Aristotle--often synthesized with Neoplatonic overtones so incompatible⁷⁰ with Christian thought or philosophy.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Haskins, op. cit., p. 299.

⁶⁸ Knowles, op. cit., p. 299.

⁶⁹ S. Afnan, Avicenna His Life and Works (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958), passim pp. 233-290.

⁷⁰ Copleston, Medieval Philosophy, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 211.

⁷¹ The writer adopting E. Gilson's concept of Christian philosophy notes that "the content of Christian philosophy is that body of rational truths discovered, explored or simply safeguarded, thanks to the help that reason receives from revelation." He elaborates:

"In so far as the believer bases his affirmations on the intimate conviction gained from faith he remains purely and simply

Division among Moslem thinkers is characterized by men such as Alfarabi, Avicenna and Algazel, in the East and Averroes in the West.⁷²

Deserving of special consideration are Avicenna (Ibn Sina 980-1037), Averroes (Ibn Rusd 1126-1198) and an eclectic compiler Dominic Gundisalvi (d. 1151), Archdeacon of Segovia.⁷³ Aristotle's disciple Avicenna influenced the faculty of arts through William of Auvergne, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus,⁷⁴ Thomas Aquinas, and possibly Amaury of Bene and David of Dinant. Avicenna's

... interpretation of Aristotle's doctrine was so personal on many points that it can be considered ... a distinct doctrinal stream, ... By his religious inspiration and his mystical tendencies, Avicenna was destined to remain, for the Christian ... of the middle ages, both a great help and a perilous temptation.⁷⁵

He argued a metaphysical doctrine of salvation⁷⁶ based on natural

a believer, he has not yet entered the gates of philosophy; but when amongst his beliefs he finds some that are capable of becoming objects of science then he becomes a philosopher, and if it is to the Christian faith that he owes this new philosophical insight, he becomes a Christian philosopher."

E. Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), pp. 35-36.

⁷²The separation of Islamic philosophers into two groups is arbitrary and is founded on the fact that the Eastern philosophers conducted their studies in centers of the Near East such as Bagdad while those in the West were chronologically later and operated from Spain.

⁷³Copleston, op. cit., pp. 214-216.

⁷⁴Afnan, op. cit., passim.

⁷⁵Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy, p. 188.

⁷⁶Gilson, loc. cit.

philosophy permeated with elements purely neoplatonic in nature.

Avicenna, being a sincere and devout Mohammedan, superimposed the promises, commands and revelations of the Prophet⁷⁷ on his rational plan--a plan which was incompatible with both conservative followers of Islam and Christianity alike, for it stressed an eternal universe⁷⁸ and the necessary character of divine governance.

Averroes, on the other hand, though an admirer of Avicenna both accepted and rejected certain of his doctrines.⁷⁹ The impact of Averroes, however, was noticeably greater than that of his predecessor, as was seen in his influence leading to the censure and condemnation of a group of arts masters at Paris.⁸⁰ Convinced that the genius of Aristotle was the apex of human intellectual endeavour, Averroes devoted boundless energy to Aristotelian commentaries as well as to his logical and metaphysical works. Avoiding the pantheistic bent of Avicenna he nevertheless denied personal immortality of man⁸¹ and the eternity of the universe.⁸² This

⁷⁷ Knowles, op. cit., p. 199.

⁷⁸ Afnan, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

⁷⁹ Averroes attempted a reconciliation of philosophy and theology in his Incoherence of the Incoherence and exposed the fideistic approach of his opponent Ghazali. "Averroes undertakes a restatement of the position of the philosophers. Ghazali had quoted passage after passage from Avicenna, then showed the supposed incoherence of his arguments; now Averroes' quotes passage after passage from the Book of Ghazali to show the incoherence of the replique." Afnan, op. cit., p. 239.

⁸⁰ Thorndike, op. cit., passim.

⁸¹ Copleston, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 157.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 156-157.

resulted in the prohibition in Islamic Spain of the study of Greek philosophy and the burning of philosophic works.⁸³

What Averroes did was to make theology subordinate to philosophy, . . . so that it belongs to the philosopher to decide what theological doctrines need to be allegorically interpreted and in what way they should be interpreted.

In regard to statements attributed to Averroes which taken literally imply that one proposition, for example, that of the intellect is numerically single, is true in philosophy and false in theology, it has been suggested that this was simply a sarcastic way of saying that the theological doctrine is nonsense.⁸⁴

These positions were later reflected by the Latin Averroists in the faculty of arts and though disconcerting to the status quo, Averroes' work as follower and purifier of Aristotle helped prepare the way for and hastened the advent of integral Aristotelianism amongst Christians.

A final major influence on the arts faculty is that of Dominic Gundisalvi, convert Jew and Archdeacon of Toledo--a thinker and writer in his own right. His short aphoristic treatises founded largely on Avicenna and Ibn Gabirol⁸⁵ frequently converged on a particular point, "as upon the creation in de Processione Mundi, and upon psychology in

⁸³ Ibid., p. 225.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 224.

⁸⁵ Ibn Gabirol (1021-1069), a Jewish philosopher, was greatly influenced by Arabian philosophy as evidenced in his chief work the Fons Vitae. A Neoplatonic influence shows itself in the emanationist scheme of his philosophy. The summit and hierarchy of being is God apprehensible only in ecstasy. His doctrine of universal hylomorphic composition in all beings inferior to God is taken from Plotinus and was later adopted by the great Franciscan St. Bonaventure. Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, pp. 226-229.

de Anima, and upon personal immortality in de Immortalitate Animae⁸⁶ employing a syncretic combination of elements united together by a common neoplatonist inspiration.⁸⁷

The arrival of the New Aristotle through Avicenna⁸⁸ assisted Gundisalvi in a reclassification of the arts in his treatise On the Division of Philosophy where grammar and rhetoric remain as propaedeutic disciplines.

Above these stands logic, above logic the philosophic disciplines. They comprise physics, mathematics, theology, politics, economics, ethics--an entirely new schema which will not be filled until the thirteenth century.⁸⁹

Dominicus Gundisalvi's work also had a far reaching effect on such figures as Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and Peter of Spain as well as in shaping the quadrivium itself.

Having presented the antecedent factors shaping the curriculum in the faculty of arts, we turn to the higher faculty of theology--which in many ways is a logical follow-up to arts and is closely connected in determinant influences and subject matter.

⁸⁶ Knowles, op. cit., p. 204.

⁸⁷ Gilson, A History of Christian Philosophy, p. 238.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 237.

⁸⁹ R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, (New York: Harper and Row, 1953), p. 482.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL DETERMINANTS IN THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

Theology, "the discipline which concerns God . . . and God's relation to the world,"¹ is central to the faculty of theology. This discipline which guided the aspirations, thoughts and practices of both saint and sinner is a specialized science, the light of which is reason elevated by faith.² M. -D. Chenu in La Théologie Comme Science³, elaborating this position proposes that revelation,⁴ in harmony with faith and reason,⁵ provides the groundwork for a science of theology.

Philosophy and theology, or reason and revelation, however, were not always in harmony. The discord indeed affected the course of

¹V. Ferm (ed.), "Theology," Encyclopedia of Religion (London: Peter Owen, 1963), 782.

²Faith is "applied objectively to the body of truth . . . to be found in the Creeds, in the definition of accredited Councils, in the teachings of doctors and saints, and above all, in the revelation contained in the Bible" whereas in its subjective nature, it "is the human response to Divine truth, inculcated in the Gospels as the childlike and trusting acceptance of the Kingdom and its demands, and known as the faith whereby belief is revealed . . ." See F. Cross (ed.) The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 491.

³M. -D. Chenu, La Théologie Comme Science (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1943), passim.

⁴Revelation "is used both of the corpus of truth about Himself which God discloses to us and of the process by which His communication of it takes place . . ." Cross, op. cit., p. 1161.

⁵Reason is noted here as the "Power manifestation and result of valid argumentation." See D. Runes (ed.), Dictionary of Philosophy (Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1962), p. 264.

theological studies. In the beginning, the Middle Ages took up the Neo-Platonic and Augustinian idea of the entire identification of philosophy with theology. At the end of the eleventh century, after St. Anselm had proposed a solution to the relationship between faith and reason, the distinction between the two areas was practically accepted, while the twelfth and thirteenth centuries advanced a step further by clearly defining the spheres of theology and philosophy.⁶

It is the relationship of reason to revelation which strikes the tenor of the times, and thus historically determines⁷ through various key doctrinal positions, in conjunction with studies in arts,⁸ the curricula in the faculty of theology.

I. INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE

Christianity and Greek Thought

The importance of the Greek heritage to Christianity and specifically to the growth of theology is stressed by F. Copleston who suggests

Christianity . . . is the revealed religion and its historical antecedents are to be found in Judaism; but when Christians

⁶M. De Wulf, Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1953), p. 52.

⁷A "philosophy of history" revolving about Christianity and its relationship to the Middle Ages is considered by F. Cross. See F. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., 1960), p. 87.

⁸A. Little, "Educational Organization of the Mendicant Friars in England," Royal Historical Society Transactions, III. (New Series 1894), 52-53 and P. Mandonnet, "Preachers," The Catholic Encyclopedia, (1914), XII, 361.

began to philosophize, they found ready at hand a rich material, a store of dialectical instruments and metaphysical concepts and terms, . . .⁹

The role of Greek thought in the Christian community¹⁰ was not sharply defined for divergent tendencies caused both an acceptance and rejection of Neo-Platonic and other Greek ideals.

The doctrinal elaboration of the Christian faith begins with the "ecclesiastical writers"¹¹ and particularly the "Fathers of the Church."¹² Maritain argues their importance by noting that

Theology is to be found in the Fathers implicit in a higher state, and its light is the very light of the gift of wisdom making use of reason, and proceeding, even as a doctrine, in the light of sanctifying grace. It is a holy doctrine.

⁹Copleston, Medieval Philosophy, Vol. II, part 1, p. 250.

¹⁰Although pagan intellectual attacks assisted the growth of apologetics in the development of Christian thought other reasons, mainly internal and independent from outside influence, are important. See Taylor, The Medieval Mind, Vol. I, pp. 61-63.

"The more intellectual Christians . . . felt the desire to penetrate as far as it was open to them to do so, the data of revelation and also to form a comprehensive view of the world and human life in the light of faith." Copleston elaborates: "Partly through a simple desire to understand and appreciate, partly through the need of . . . clearer definition of dogma in the face of heresy, the original data of revelation were rendered more explicit, 'developed,' in the sense of the implicit being made explicit." See Copleston, op. cit., part 1, p. 28.

¹¹Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 9.

¹²"We give the name of 'Fathers of the Church' to all those Catholic writers of the first centuries whose work in its broad outlines, conforms to traditional orthodoxy." See F. Cayre, Spiritual Writers of the Early Church (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1959), pp. 19-20.

¹³J. Maritain, "St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas," A Monument to Saint Augustine (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), p. 203.

As differing approaches were used, many apologists and Fathers rejected Greek thought, arguing the case for Christianity on faith and revelation alone. Their belief was that personal salvation is all that is required, and that this is accomplished by living according to divine law as revealed in Holy Scripture.¹⁴ Philosophy was superfluous and, with reference to St. Paul, "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."¹⁵

Tertullian, for example, argued the irreconcilability of Christianity and Greek philosophy in his "Prescription Against Heretics."

These are "the doctrines" of men and "of demons" produced for itching ears of the spirit of this world's wisdom: this the Lord called "foolishness," and "chose the foolish things of the world" to confound even philosophy itself.

Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition! We want no curious disputation after possessing Christ Jesus, no inquisition after enjoying the gospel! With our faith we desire no further belief. For this is our palmary faith, that there is nothing which we ought to believe besides.¹⁶

Tatian, another notable apologist, in his "Address to the Greeks" implies the perfection of faith alone in the following note:

What noble thing have you produced by your pursuit of philosophy? Who of your most eminent men have been free from

¹⁴E. Gilson, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 6.

¹⁵J. O'Connell (ed.), Holy Bible (Chicago, Illinois: Catholic Press, Inc., 1953), Romans 1:22.

¹⁶Tertullian, "The Prescription Against Heretics," (Vol. III of The Ante-Nicene Fathers. 10 vols.: Grand Rapids, Michigan: Erdmans Publishing Co., 1963), p. 246.

vain boasting? Diogenes, who made such a parade of his independence with his tribe, was seized with a bowel complaint through eating a raw polypus, and so lost his life by gluttony. Aristippus, walking about in a purple robe, led a profligate life, in accordance with his professed opinions. Plato, a philosopher, was sold by Dionysius for his gormandizing propensities.¹⁷

Cross argues that Tatian attacked the whole of Greco-Roman civilization including its ethics, art and religion as well as philosophy.¹⁸

The whole of Christianity, however, did not frown upon the Greek intellectual heritage, and some figures suggested a union of faith and natural knowledge, supported with philosophical principles. Such a figure was St. Augustine--Father and Doctor of the early Church.

McGiffert, considering Augustine, notes the religious and emotional temperament of the man¹⁹ and hastens to add that he

...had . . . an uncommon talent for expression and wielded a facile and tireless pen. He was a philosophical thinker of a high rank . . . At the same time he was a theologian of great importance, the most famous and commanding of all the Latin Fathers.²⁰

It was this talent that assisted the fusion of natural knowledge with faith to the accompaniment of Neo-Platonic thought--culminating in a perfection of Christian Wisdom.²¹ "There is no reason to look for

¹⁷Tatian, "Tatian's Address to the Greeks," (Vol. II of The Ante-Nicene Fathers. 10 vols.: Grand Rapids, Michigan: Erdmans Publishing Co., 1962), p. 65.

¹⁸Cross, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁹A. McGiffert, A History of Christian Thought (Vol. II of 2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), p. 72.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Copleston, op. cit., part 1, p. 63.

philosophy in Augustinism because it is everywhere and nowhere."²² The starting point of Augustinian thought was not separable from revelation, however, it attempted to see whether and to what extent its content coincides with the content of reason."²³

In his Confessions, Augustine adopts Platonic ideas as a passage to understanding through faith, for "having then read those books of the Platonists, and thence being taught to search for incorporeal truth, I saw Thy invisible things, . . ."²⁴ Though remaining a Platonist and being dependent on Plotinus in philosophy, he avoids the most dangerous pitfalls of Platonism.²⁵ Augustine

. . . at one moment magnificently setting his Greek masters right (as when he constructs the world of divine Ideas out of Platonic exemplars), at another leaving unresolved those questions to which the Platonic method does not supply a key (as, for instance, many questions about the soul and its origin), and at yet another leaving unfinished, . . . certain great doctrines (such as his doctrine of Illumination) which, with such method, he could not bring to a higher point of precision without the risk of falling into grave error.²⁶

In this life, the Christian investigates the mysteries of revelation by the natural light of reason.²⁷ The result of such an effort was what

²²E. Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 241.

²³Ibid., p. 242.

²⁴E. Pusey (trans.), The Confessions of Saint Augustine (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1960), p. 124.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 121-122.

²⁶Maritain, op. cit., p. 204.

²⁷Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 36.

Augustine called intellectus²⁸--human reason grasping its way towards the full light of the beatific vision.²⁹

Knowles remarks that St. Augustine

. . . was to influence both educational and spiritual teaching in the West for centuries. . . . In his scheme the religious and intellectual elements, mental and moral forces, natural and supernatural assistance were blended and enfolded; . . .³⁰

In the process of formulating Christian dogma, Greek philosophy was overwhelmingly important because it furnished knowledge and the metaphysical concepts adapted by Christian theologians.³¹ In Heraclitus, for example, the beginnings of a doctrine of immanent Reason and the Logos as the primal Fire is to be found,³² while Anaxagoras contributes the theory of Nous or Mind³³ as the primary moving Principle. Neo-Platonism, however, was most important for preparing men's minds for the acceptance of Christianity.³⁴ The Neo-Platonists

. . . set themselves up as rivals to Christianity and they may have kept some individuals from embracing Christianity who would otherwise have done so; but that does not mean that they

²⁸ Copleston, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

²⁹ Gilson, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages, pp. 18-19.

³⁰ Knowles, op. cit., p. 47.

³¹ Taylor, The Medieval Mind Vol. I, p. 34.

³² W. Jones, A History of Western Philosophy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952), p. 38.

³³ Ibid., p. 50.

³⁴ Knowles, op. cit., p. 30.

could not and did not serve as a way to Christianity.³⁵ Porphyry attacked Christianity, but was not St. Augustine brought to Christianity by way of Plotinus? Neo-Platonism . . . in the thought of St. Augustine³⁶ . . . became the first stage of Christian philosophy.

Thus many streams of thought produced medieval Christianity and subsequently medieval theology.

Though the approaches of reason and revelation often delineated differing paths, their application to theology was associated with "scholasticism,"³⁷ --a movement which affected the whole of medieval life,³⁸ and particularly the nature and selection of theological materials.

Reason, Revelation and Curriculum

A number of men were instrumental in shaping the theological curriculum in light of scholasticism. The first of such men was Boethius

³⁵ Stoicism provided philosophical concepts of Divine Will and self-control. See Taylor, op. cit., pp. 10-14.

F. Copleston elaborates on Plato's influence in the intellectual preparatio evangelica of the pagan world: "By his doctrine of exemplarism, his theory of the Transcendental Exemplary Cause, by his doctrine of Reason or Mind operative in the world and forming the world for the best, he obviously remotely paved the way for the ultimate acceptance of the one Transcendent-Immanent God. Again by his doctrine of the immortal and rational soul of man, of retribution, of moral purification, he made easier the intellectual acceptance of Christian psychology and asceticism . . ." See Copleston, op. cit., part 2, p. 247.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 250.

³⁷ Scholasticism "stands for the theology and philosophy and the subsidiary disciplines of the schools of western Europe in the great period of medieval culture." See E. Fairweather (ed.), A Scholastic Miscellany: Anselm to Ockham (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1956), p. 18.

³⁸ Runes, op. cit., p. 280.

(circa 500), commentator, translator³⁹ and intermediary between ancient and medieval civilizations.⁴⁰ His investigations of theology are logical and Aristotelian in character.⁴¹

The logical works of Boethius necessarily presented the method rather than the substance of philosophical truth. But their study would exercise the mind, and they were peculiarly adapted to serve as discipline for the coming centuries, which could not become progressive until they had mastered their antique inheritance, including the chief method of presenting the elemental forms of truth.⁴²

It was this method of truth that Boethius applied to the Trinity in attempting to explain this difficult doctrine. The newness lay in the explicitness of his program; that procedure hitherto practiced de facto by St. Augustine, for example, was consciously presented as a principle. This was done with unequivocal clarity in Boethius' letter dealing with the Trinity.⁴³

The last sentence of this letter addressed to the later Pope John I reads: "As far as you are able, join faith to reason" -- fidem, si poteris, rationemque conjunge.⁴⁴

A later but equally significant attempt to provide a logical consideration of faith⁴⁵ is found in the pioneering work of John Scotus

³⁹ Knowles, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

⁴⁰ See Chapter III, Section 1.

⁴¹ Copleston, op. cit., part 1, p. 117.

⁴² Taylor, op. cit., p. 93.

⁴³ J. Pieper, Scholasticism (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 37.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Scotus Eriugena also known as Erigena and John the Scot. See Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 814.

Eriugena (circa 800).⁴⁶ In adapting Neo-Platonic and apologetic influences,⁴⁷ he asserts that there is no distinction between philosophy and religion and that accordingly there can be no contradiction between them.⁴⁸ His De divisione naturae syllogistically⁴⁹ and figuratively, treats of Augustinian and Platonic themes, using pantheistic and emanational principles.⁵⁰

T. Whittaker, however, argues that Scotus Eriugena cannot be classed as a Neo-Platonist,

. . . for his whole effort was directed towards rationalizing that system of dogmatic belief which the Neo-Platonist had opposed . . . On the other hand, he was deeply influenced by the form of Neo-Platonic thought transmitted through Dionysius, whose works he translated into Latin; and his own speculations soon excited the suspicion of ecclesiastical authority.⁵¹

Although he did not question the truth of the Bible,⁵² he was not hampered by its authority, for he took it for granted that it was to be read allegorically, not literally.⁵³ Right reason, however, does not

⁴⁶ Runes, op. cit., p. 96.

⁴⁷ De Wulf, History of Medieval Philosophy Vol. I, p. 122.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 123.

⁴⁹ Taylor, op. cit., p. 231.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 230.

⁵¹ T. Whittaker, The Neo-Platonists (Cambridge: George Olms Verlag-schuchhandlung Hildesheim, 1928), p. 188.

⁵² McGiffert, op. cit., pp. 169-170.

⁵³ A. Forest, F. Van Steenberghen and M. de Gandillac, Histoire de L'Eglise. Le Mouvement Doctrinal du IX^e au XIV^e Siecle (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1951), p. 12.

oppose true authority, for they both come from one source, namely divine wisdom.⁵⁴

The stress on the independence of philosophy and theology in the pursuit of wisdom is strikingly presented by St. Anselm (circa 1050).⁵⁵ His characteristic and original trait lies in the confidence with which he explains the mysteries of faith--the nature of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation and Redemption, Predestination and Free will--with the aid of reason.⁵⁶ Under the influence of St. Augustine,⁵⁷ Anselm attempts to penetrate with dialectic the truth held by faith.⁵⁸ His Proslogium and Monologium argue the foundation of an unshakeable acceptance of the "authority of the Church."⁵⁹ Credo ut intellegam⁶⁰ was his motto.

⁵⁴"Man has been in three successive states with regard to truth. Between original sin and the coming of Christ, reason was clouded by the consequences of error and, pending the complete revelation of truth by the Gospel, it could only construct a physics in order to understand nature and to prove the existence of God who is its cause. As early as that epoch, however, the Jewish revelation began its work, until it reached its height with Christ. From that moment forth, reason entered a second stage, in which it still is. Since it now receives truth from an infallible source, the wise thing for reason to do is to accept this truth as God reveals it in Holy Writ. Faith must now precede the exercise of reason . . ." See Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 113.

⁵⁵Copleston, op. cit., p. 177.

⁵⁶Knowles, op. cit., p. 100.

⁵⁷Gilson, op. cit., p. 129.

⁵⁸Forest, Van Steenberghen and de Gandillac, op. cit., p. 51.

⁵⁹McGiffert, op. cit., p. 187.

⁶⁰Copleston, op. cit., p. 178.

. . . Saint Anselm's confidence in reason's power of interpretation is unlimited. He does not confuse faith and reason, since the exercise of reason presupposes faith; but everything happens as though one could always manage to understand, if not what one believes, at least the necessity of believing it.⁶¹

Anselm's attempt at reconstructing faith was, according to E. Gilson, too reckless "in giving rational demonstrations of all revealed truths."⁶² A "corrective" appeared in the writings of Denis the Areopagite⁶³ who attacked the over-reliance on reason in matters of faith.

Not until the advent of Pierre Abelard (circa 1100)⁶⁴ is the application of reason to the body of knowledge of faith effectively treated. Abelard, who was greatly concerned with the question of universals, directed thirteenth century curricula in the faculty of theology largely through his Sic et Non. He tackled the relation of philosophy to theology with the following principles:

1. If theology is to reach the dignity of a science,⁶⁵ it must make use of philosophy and particularly dialectic.
2. Suitable solutions in theology are attained on the basis of authorities citing the for and against for each question.

⁶¹ Gilson, op. cit., p. 129.

⁶² Gilson, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages, p. 26.

⁶³ Denis the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius) was both a theologian and ecclesiastic who argued man only knows God in the sense of a via negativa. His influence on Aquinas and others is great. See Copleston, op. cit., pp. 106-115.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

⁶⁵ Theology in this context is considered scientific insofar it is amenable to the processes of logic.

3. Arguments from reason are useful in the service of the
doctrines of faith.⁶⁶

Abelard succeeded in explaining and discussing theological truths whereas others merely asserted and approved⁶⁷ what had been stated by the Fathers.

Knowles contends that the Sic et Non

... gave a keen impulse to the dialectical treatment of theology, but that the evolution of the formal and obligatory technique of the disputation--arguments pro and con, judgement and reply to arguments--took place principally after the re-discovery of the 'new logic,' the Analytics, Topics and Sophistics of Aristotle.⁶⁸

Peter Lombard (circa 1150),⁶⁹ a pupil of Abelard, was greatly influenced by the Sic et Non. In his Sentences, Lombard attempted the reconciliation of theological inconsistencies and seeming contradictions.

Lombard took his quotation not only from the Bible and the Fathers but also from creeds and conciliar decisions and, especially from Gratian's Decretum. The Greek Fathers, except for John of Damascus, he drew upon rarely and only indirectly. The Latin Fathers . . . he quoted copiously, particularly from Augustine on.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ De Wulf, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

⁶⁷ Forest, Van Steenberghen, and de Gandillac, op. cit., p. 100.

⁶⁸ Knowles, op. cit., p. 126.

⁶⁹ De Wulf, op. cit., p. 245.

⁷⁰ McGiffert, op. cit., p. 250.

The Sentences of Peter Lombard are a systematization of theological doctrine treated in four books: Book One deals with God, Blessed Trinity, Providence and evil; Book Two examines Creation, angels, demons, grace and sin; Book Three considers the Incarnation, Redemption, virtues, and the Ten Commandments; Book Four considers the sacraments, death, Last Judgment, Heaven and hell. See P. Feret, La Faculté de Théologie de Paris à Ses Docteurs les Plus Célèbres (Vol. I of 4 vols.; Paris: Picard et Fils, 1894), pp. 207-209.

The writings of Peter Lombard, because of their comprehensiveness, became popular, and his Sentences along with the Bible were selected as primary texts in faculties of theology.

F. Powicke traces two tendencies in the schools of Paris by the end of the twelfth century leading to the fulfillment of scholasticism:

The one, represented first by Peter of Poitiers, and later by the theologian of Cremona, known as Prepositinus, led straight on to the scholastic method of the thirteenth century. Both these scholars wrote commentaries upon the Sentences and, in pursuit of its method, helped to develop the dialectic of the future . . . The other tendency is represented by Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter, and Langton himself. It shows increasing reliance upon the Lombard as an authority, he is the master; but men like Langton used the Lombard, just as they used St. Augustine and St. Ambrose; they did not adopt him. They were moral or pastoral, rather than systematic theologians. They lectured with no particular sense of order upon the nature of God, the virtues and vices of transubstantiation, ecclesiastical poverty, a difficult text from Scriptures, simony, usury, the sacraments, . . .⁷¹

The scholastic trend is figuratively described by Chesterton in the following reference:

It was not a compromise with the world, or a number of heathens or heretics, or even a mere borrowing of external aids, even when it did borrow them. Insofar as it did reach out to the light of common day, it was like the actions of a plant which by its own force thrusts out its leaves into the sun; not like the action of one who merely lets daylight into a prison.⁷²

Scholasticism permeated the whole of thirteenth century thought but, with the arrival of Judaeo-Arabic translations, new and vital forces appeared, casting a different light on accepted texts and their use in theology.

⁷¹F. Powicke, Stephen Langton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 54.

⁷²G. Chesterton, Saint Thomas Aquinas (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1965), p. 27.

II. THE REVOLUTION OF THOUGHT

Judaeo-Arabic Influences

The impact of the "new learning" on universities was effected in theology through the catalytic action of three outstanding personalities --Averroes, Avicenna and Moses Maimonides.

Watt states that Averroes⁷³ was "the first main introduction of Aristotle to Europe, and was the seed which led to the flowering of medieval philosophy."⁷⁴ Averroes maintained that both philosophy and revealed scriptures are true,⁷⁵ a position countered by Al Ghazali, a contemporary theologian who denied any need for philosophy.⁷⁶ Al Ghazali's thesis failed to destroy the import of the Averroestic position, which was in basic agreement with scholastic thought and the theolo-gico-philosophical synthesis of Aquinas.

F. Copleston considers Avicenna as the "greatest Moslem philosopher of the eastern group, . . . the real creator of a Scholastic system in the Islamic world."⁷⁷ His main contribution was in the adaptation of

⁷³ See Chapter III, section 11.

⁷⁴ W. Watt, Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Edinburgh: University Press, 1962), p. 141.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

⁷⁶ An excellent account of the principles of Averroes and Al Ghazali is found in Gilson, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages, pp. 42-46.

⁷⁷ Copleston, op. cit., p. 215.

Aristotelian writings.⁷⁸

We find traces of Avicenna in almost every scholastic author in a form that has been described as 'augustinisme avicennisant.' Although there never developed such a thing as a school of Avicennaism, he is everywhere 'a constant and pervasive excitant.' He was identified with the concept of being which had been the core of his metaphysics. His distinction between essence and existence became widely adopted. His deterministic view that God was the Creator necessarily proved provocative; and his idea of divine Providence, . . . survived also.⁷⁹

The last figure, Moses Maimonides (circa 1200),⁸⁰ a Jewish thinker, was a devoted follower of Aristotle who, he taught, was the master of human science. His greatest work, the Guide for the Perplexed, subordinated philosophy to revealed religion, while using rational argument to prove or to support revealed truth.⁸¹ His stand as to the limitations of philosophy in attaining the mysteries of religion is almost exactly the same as that of St. Thomas, who in fact accepts or elaborates much of the natural theology and apologetics of Maimonides.⁸² Isaak Husik notes that Aquinas, like Maimonides,

. . . employs Aristotelian proofs for the existence of God, proofs based on the eternity of motion; and like him Aquinas argues that if motion is not eternal and the world was created in time, the existence of God is still more readily evident.⁸³

Other similarities are evident in the realms of Providence, free will and

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 216.

⁷⁹Afnan, Avicenna His Life and Works, p. 278.

⁸⁰Runes, op. cit., p. 186.

⁸¹De Wulf, op. cit., p. 306.

⁸²Knowles, op. cit., p. 203.

⁸³I. Husik, A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), p. 306.

divine attributes.⁸⁴

The importance of "new learning" to theology was immeasurable, and numerous works at this time were being written, interpreted and adopted to conform to Judaeo-Arabic thought. The theological curriculum reveals the synthesis of the new with the old.

Synthesis and the Aftermath

The medieval student upon entering the faculty of theology was expected to have a foundation in Latin. With the "intellectual revolution" of the thirteenth century, regular schools for liberal studies were introduced as part of the theological curriculum,⁸⁵ and a master's degree in arts supplemented the language requirement.⁸⁶

The novice at such a school, having completed liberal arts studies, embarked on his Bachelor of Divinity, a seven year course based on the

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 306. Also see Knowles, op. cit., p. 204.

⁸⁵Mandonnet "Preachers," The Catholic Encyclopedia (1914), XII, 301.

⁸⁶Little, "Educational Organization of the Mendicant Friars in England," pp. 69-70, and A. Little, The Grey Friars in Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), pp. 30-39.

Little gives us an idea of the texts used in arts as a preparation for theology:

Douais refers to a MS volume at Toulouse belonging to the Austin Friars and containing the text books used by them. The volume contains Porphyry's 'Isagoge,' Aristotle's 'Predicamenta' (or 'Categories') and 'Peri erminias,' the 'Liber Divisionum' and 'Liber Topicorum' of Boethius (these works being known as the 'Logica Vetus'); 'Libri VIII Topicorum' 'Liber Priorum,' and 'Liber Posteriorum Analyticorum,' and the 'Elenchi Sophistici' of Aristotle (comprising the 'Nova Logica') with Gilbert de la Porree's 'Liber Sex Principiorum.' Little, "Educational Organization of the Mendicant Friars in England," loc. cit.

Bible and the Sentences of Peter Lombard.⁸⁷ Hinnebusch notes that Dominicans at Oxford had to supplement their theological studies with three years grounding in the doctrine of St. Thomas.⁸⁸

Although the Bible and Sentences were primary texts, supplementary writings, often influenced by the "new learning," are deserving of note. The first of these is the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor, which along with the Gloss,⁸⁹ Postills and Quaestiones⁹⁰ --all doctrinal commentaries on Holy Scripture--served as additional study material. The Historia received some useful additions from Peter of Poitiers, who probably "completed the Comestors' text, which ended with the Gospels, by a compendium of Acts."⁹¹ Often prefixed to the Historia was the Compendium Historiae from the Genealogia Christi⁹² and the Magna Glossatura⁹³ of

⁸⁷ Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, p. 477.

⁸⁸ W. Hinnebusch, "Foreign Dominican Students and Professors at the Oxford Blackfriars," Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 108.

⁸⁹ Langton, the Chanter and Comestor referred to primary sources for knowledge. Their "method is to make the Gloss. . . (the) starting point and to check the extracts by their originals. The Gloss in Genesis and Exodus, for instance, is chiefly composed of extracts from St. Augustine--De Genesi ad Litteram and Quaestiones in Heptateuchum: . . ." See B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1952), p. 226.

⁹⁰ A. Little and F. Pelster, Oxford Theology and Theologians (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 26.

⁹¹ Smalley, op. cit., p. 214.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 367.

Peter Lombard, indispensable minimums for the teaching of the sacra pagina. Additional supplementary texts were: the Summa super Psalterium by Prepositinus of Cremona; the Distinctiones super Psalterium of Peter of Poitiers,⁹⁴ a Gospel harmony; the Unum ex Quattuor, a list of spiritual interpretations; the De Difficultatibus Sacre Scripture or De Tropis Loquendi, a technical study referring to grammar; and the Summa Abel --the last three works written by Peter Chanter.⁹⁵

As therefore, those who aspired to be masters had, before they could attain the doctor's degree, to lecture on the Holy Scriptures and the Sentences, and further to take part in the disputationes as respondent and opponent, it was to their interests to acquire possession of complete commentaries on the Bible and Sentences or of extracts from such, and to make for themselves an extensive collection of questions with answers and counter-arguments.⁹⁶

The need for such commentaries and expositions "grew from an effort to systematize both abstract thought and the practical problems of life."⁹⁷ These became known as Summa and tended to synthesize diverse but usually orthodox theological positions, examples of which are the Summa theologica of Godefroy of Poitiers (written 1213-1215), the Summa de Creaturis of Albertus Magnus (written 1240-1243), and the Summa contra haereticos of Prevostin (written 1184-1210).⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 209.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 200.

⁹⁶ Little and Pelster, op. cit., p. 26.

⁹⁷ Powicke, op. cit., p. 227.

⁹⁸ Forest, op. cit., p. 207.

Supplements to the Gloss, called "postills," functioned as secondary commentaries. Guerri of St. Quentin, for example, whose professorship overlapped with that of Hugh St. Cher "is already quoting 'Frater Hugo.' Bonaventure, teaching 1253-1257, used the postills . . . extensively."⁹⁹ This emphasis on glosses, postills and secondary references was deplored by Robert Grosseteste¹⁰⁰ who urged a return to the clarity of Scripture.

The faculties of theology thus adapted a variety of writings in the instructional process, all within bounds of Christian orthodoxy¹⁰¹ but tempered by the doctrinal school to which the professor belonged.¹⁰²

For the early Middle Ages, and with few exceptions, theology was "little more than warmed-over patristic exegesis."¹⁰³ In the second major period of medieval thought--that of Anselm of Canterbury and the twelfth century--Aristotle was the teacher of a dialectical method, and theology was used to describe the systematic statement of the context of Christian faith.¹⁰⁴ With the advent of the "new learning" and the clarification of philosophy's role in the faculty of arts, it was inevitable that repercussions would be experienced in theology, not only in

⁹⁹ Smalley, op. cit., p. 273.

¹⁰⁰ Note particularly F. Stenvenson, Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1899), pp. 223-240.

¹⁰¹ J. Hilgers, "Censorship," The Catholic Encyclopedia, (1914), III, 520.

¹⁰² Copleston, op. cit., p. 243.

¹⁰³ Fairweather, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

the introduction of new philosophical themes but in provoking changes within the conception of theology itself.¹⁰⁵

The famed Thomas Aquinas (circa 1250) in his Summa Theologica remarks: "This science [theology] can in a sense depend upon the philosophical sciences, not as though it stood in need of them, but only in order to make its teaching clearer."¹⁰⁶ However, theological studies enjoyed a prestige superior to that which was granted philosophical studies. The proximity of the faculties of theology and arts introduced a kind of passion for combining philosophical and theological questions in the same work.¹⁰⁷

Both Aquinas and to a lesser extent Bonaventura¹⁰⁸ adapted Aristotelian learning to Christian theology. J. Maritain designates the following remark worthy of full quotation:

As a matter of fact, medieval scholasticism vainly strove to extract from Augustine, only with the weapons supplied by himself, a complete philosophical and theological systematization. St. Bonaventure succeeded in recapturing Augustine's lofty

¹⁰⁵Forest, Van Steenberghen and de Gandillac, op. cit., p. 206.

¹⁰⁶Fathers of the English Dominican Province (translators), St. Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologica (New York: Benzinger Bros., Inc., 1947), Pt. I q.1 art. 5.

¹⁰⁷De Wulf, Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages, p. 170.

¹⁰⁸It is Copleston's contention that "Bonaventure, Albert, Thomas utilized and incorporated an increasing amount of the new philosophical materials, . . . but the three men though differing from one another on many points of philosophical doctrine were really at one in the ideal of a Christian synthesis." See Copleston, op. cit., part II, pp. 279-280.

inspiration, and a ray of his wisdom; he failed to accomplish a scientific work (if he ever meant to do so). Aristotle's weapons were needed, and so too was Thomas Aquinas. In St. Thomas' day, scholastic Augustinianism would seem to have reached and become caught in an impasse (and the attempts it made, after St. Thomas, to extricate itself, only rendered the state of affairs more obvious); it was clearly wanting in the means of establishing itself as a science, and consequently of making progress. St. Thomas alone really succeeded in placing theological wisdom in its own proper and specific order, in making theology a science, whilst at the same stroke, defining the domain of philosophy. He alone was able to extract from Augustine, but with Aristotle's and not Augustine's weapons, a science of theology and a science of Christian philosophy--for is it not by means of philosophical weapons that theology gradually establishes itself as a science?¹⁰⁹

The line between orthodoxy and heresy, however, is often obscured and such was the case of the "double-fold" ¹¹⁰ truth doctrine advanced by the Aristotelian Siger of Brabant, professor in the faculty of arts at Paris, who in his statement misrepresented Aquinas' "two paths to one God"¹¹¹ position, and temporarily cast an aura of suspicion and condemnation upon Thomistic thought.

These and other scholastic doctrines soon came under the hail of condemnation which stifled medieval thought and arrested originality in

¹⁰⁹ Maritain, op. cit., pp. 212-213.

¹¹⁰ A dangerous relationship between philosophy and theology arises at this point. "Siger of Brabant said this: the Church must be right theologically, but she can be wrong scientifically. There are two truths; the truth of the supernatural world, and the truth of the natural world, which contradicts the supernatural world." See Chesterton, op. cit., p. 92 and Chapter III, Section II.

¹¹¹ St. Thomas argues the existence of one Truth attainable by two non-contradictory paths: philosophy or science and theology. He argues further that faith does not contradict science and that if time would allow, all that is believed by faith would be known by science. See Gilson, op. cit., passim.

philosophy and theology. The result of this stricture on philosophico-theological thought was reflected in the writings of Duns Scotus (circa 1300)¹¹² an eclectic in the tradition of Augustinism, and William of Ockham (circa 1330).¹¹³

Ockham, in particular, is often considered the last of the great Schoolmen,¹¹⁴ and the movement he initiated, founded on a complete divorce of religion from philosophy, based on the application of a new logic, and separated from the traditional metaphysics, is called the via moderna.¹¹⁵ For Ockham, religion is held on faith alone;¹¹⁶ man is totally unable to prove the existence of God. Logic becomes the "razor" of an innovation that cuts deeply at the roots of the great Thomistic synthesis. For a brief while, theological studies embrace Ockhamism, until it in turn comes under ecclesiastical censure.

The development of thought and its effect upon the selection of works in theology from the via antiqua through to the via moderna constantly reflects the tension between reason and revelation. Knowles considering this stand argues the following:

¹¹²Copleston, op. cit., part II, p. 199.

¹¹³Copleston, Medieval Philosophy (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 123.

¹¹⁴Knowles, op. cit., p. 318.

¹¹⁵Forest, Van Steenberghen and de Gandillac, op. cit., p. 449.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 440.

From the age of Augustine to the death of Aquinas there had been a conviction, shared by all the schools, and expressed by all implicitly, if not explicitly, that there existed a single reasoned and intelligible explanation of the universe on the natural level, and a single analysis of man and his powers, that could be discovered, elaborated and taught, and that it was valid for all men and final within its own sphere. A corollary to this conviction was the prevailing opinion that the ancients . . . had said if not the final, at least the most authoritative word in this as in . . . many other fields, and that the Christian thinker's task could be achieved by a study either of Plato or of Aristotle or of an amalgam of the two, eked out by such further discussions as might be made necessary by the higher wisdom of the Christian revelation. Within twenty years of the death of Aquinas this conviction was changing shape. Duns Scotus and some of his contemporaries were still convinced that an explanation of the universe in terms of thought was possible and desirable, but in their view it had not yet been found, and it was the task of the philosopher to try new ways of finding it. Thirty years later the Ockhamists were challenging both the conviction and its corollary. The universe neither needed nor was susceptible of explanation; it could be experienced but not understood, . . .¹¹⁷

Having examined factors determining curricula in arts and theology, we turn to a study of official statutes and regulations that affected the adoption of specific works and lines of thought.

¹¹⁷Knowles, op. cit., p. 335.

CHAPTER V

REGULATIONS AND STATUTES

In addition to cultural and intellectual influences on university curriculum in arts and theology, the Church with its duties and powers of interdiction or approval was also significant.

I. HIGHER FACULTIES AND THE PREREQUISITES

As noted earlier,¹ the faculty of arts, was, in the majority of instances, a preparation for the study of theology. A sound grasp of logic and philosophy was immeasurably valuable for the budding theologian and, in this sense, the curriculum within arts was affected by theological demands.

The propaedeutic nature of arts also extended to both medicine and law.² V. Bullough in "The Medieval Medical University at Paris" remarks that not all students

. . . in medicine during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were masters of art but it became more and more advantageous to the students to have received their master's degree. In the statutes for 1270-74 the candidate with a license in arts was required to have studied medicine for five-and-a-half years before he could be licenced in medicine,

¹See Chapter IV, section II.

²See Chapter III, section I.

while those without the licentiate were required to spend six years.³

The study of medicine was closely bound to the study of Aristotelian physiology, and "consequently with the whole of Aristotelian philosophy."⁴ The de Animalibus and Meteorologica were of specific importance.⁵

Law, a field dependent on the arts of discourse, relied heavily on the trivium for basic training.⁶ Rashdall suggests that after the rise of the law school at Bologna, rhetoric and grammar were valued,⁷ and "Logic was also regarded as a useful discipline for the future lawyer; . . ."⁸

To say that curriculum in the advanced programs completely determined the studies in arts is probably a misjudgement. However, the needs of law, medicine and theology could not be ignored in the faculty of arts.

II. STATUTES, REGULATIONS AND CURRICULUM

The following statement of Pope Pius XI (1857-1939) in the "Christian Education of Youth" reports the Church's present official position on education--a position essentially the same as in the Middle Ages.

³V. Bullough, "The Medieval Medical University at Paris," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, XXXI (1957), 201, and V. Bullough, "The Development of the Medical University at Montpellier to the End of the Fourteenth Century," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, XXX (1956), 513-514.

⁴Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁵Bullough, "The Medieval Medical University at Paris," p. 203.

⁶Rashdall, op. cit., p. 234 and Chapter III, part I.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

. . . the Church is independent of any sort of earthly power as well in the origin as in the exercise of her mission as educator, not merely in regard to her proper end and object, guardian of faith and morals but also in regard to the means necessary and suitable to attain that end. Hence with regard to every other kind of human learning and instruction, which is the common patrimony of individuals and society, the Church has an independent right to make use of it, and above all to decide what may help or harm Christian education. And this must be so, because the Church as a perfect society has an independent right to the means conducive to its end, and because every form of instruction, no less than every human action, has a necessary connection with man's last end, and therefore cannot be withdrawn from the dictates of the divine law, of which the Church is guardian, interpreter and infallible mistress.⁹

In concert with leading theologians, the Church then decreed curriculum in arts and theology. If necessary, ecclesiastical decrees proscribed¹⁰ certain texts, thereby fashioning curriculum to the criteria of an absolute authority.

At the turn of the century, (circa 1200), the papacy was alerted by Stephen, Bishop of Tournai, who in a letter attacked the new

⁹Pope Pius XI, "Christian Education of Youth" Encyclical Letter December 31, 1929, 8.

¹⁰"According to papal statutes of the University of Paris (1342), the professors were not allowed to hand any lectures over to the book-sellers before they had been examined by the Chancellor and the professor of theology." See Hilgers, "Censorship," The Catholic Encyclopedia, (1914), 11, 520.

G. Flahiff notes the nature of censorship in the following terms: "Censorship of books in its broadest sense is a supervision over books exercised by lawful authority to protect its subjects against the ravages of pernicious writings." Censorship in the Catholic Church is exercised in two ways: "before the publishing of a work by examining it (censura praevia), or after its publication by repressing or prohibiting it (censura subsequens or repressiva)." See Flahiff, "Ecclesiastical Censorship of Books in the Twelfth Century," Medieval Studies IV (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1942), p. 1.

learning.¹¹ The following are his thoughts:

Contrary to the sacred canons there is public disputation as to the incomprehensible deity; concerning the incarnation of the Word, verbose flesh and blood irreverently litigates. The indivisible Trinity is cut up and wrangled over in the trivia, so that now there are as many erros as doctors,¹² as many scandals as classrooms, as many blasphemies as squares.

Stephen pleads for "the hand of apostolic correction"¹³ so "that the divine word be not cheapened by vulgar handling."¹⁴

In 1210, condemnations were pronounced at the Council of Paris on the writings of Aristotle, Amaury or Bene and David of Dinant.¹⁵ David was accused of applying logic to metaphysics and concluding that God and matter are identical, a dangerous conclusion after arguing from Dionysius that God is non-being and matter is non-being, he held that God is therefore matter and matter is God.¹⁶ David's associate Amaury asserted that the body of Christ is not in the eucharistic bread, and then coupled this assertion to a kind of pantheism.¹⁷ Immediately the Bishops of Sens and Paris decreed that

¹¹"An Invective Against the New Learning," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 22.

¹²Ibid., p. 23.

¹³Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Feret, La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et Ses Docteurs Les Plus Célèbres, Vol. I, p. 200.

¹⁶Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 242.

¹⁷Feret, op. cit., pp. 200-204.

Neither the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy nor their commentaries are to be read at Paris in public or secret, and this we forbid under penalty of excommunication. He in whose possession the writings of David of Dinant are found after the Nativity shall be considered a heretic.¹⁸

G. Flahiff suggests that the proscriptions of 1210 "were but the culmination of attacks dating from the twelfth century"¹⁹--a position akin to that of Powicke.

We must not imagine that there was a clear issue between orthodoxy and heresy. The books and persons, for example, condemned at Paris in 1210 . . . represented several types of thought . . .²⁰

However, he continues:

. . . the ferment of thought, in which the danger of heresy was always lurking, was beginning at Paris. At the same time, it is clear that much of the general criticism directed against Parisian studies was not concerned with theology at all, but with the hectic discussion of the students in arts.²¹

Powicke's phrase "the ferment of thought" sets the pace, also maintained by Flahiff who remarks that any master was an object of suspicion "not only by 'heresy hunters' but even to more moderate theologians"²² if they

¹⁸"Rules of the University of Paris, 1215," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 27.

¹⁹Flahiff, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁰F. Powicke, Stephen Langton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 50.

²¹Ibid., p. 51.

²²Flahiff, loc. cit.

had "an original or advanced turn of mind."²³

In 1215, papal legate Robert de Courçon at Paris indicated what books the masters of arts should not read, and formulated the discipline of scholars, and the state of the university generally.²⁴ Those "Rules" repeat the censure of the works of David of Dinant, Amaury of Bene, Mauritius of Spain and the metaphysics of Aristotle.²⁵ The old and new dialectics of Aristotle, the Barbarismus, the Nichomachean ethics²⁶ and the Priscianus maior and minor²⁷ were considered acceptable.

The onslaught of "pagan literature" continuously alerted the Church to possible "dangers" for, in the regulations of the Dominicans Chapter of 1228, a directive of Master Jordanus bears the following message:

They shall not study in the books of the Gentiles and philosophers, although they may inspect them briefly. They shall not learn secular sciences nor even the arts which are called liberal, unless sometimes in certain cases the master of the Order of the general Chapter shall wish to make a dispensation, but shall read only theological works. . . .²⁸

²³Ibid.

²⁴P. Glorieux, Répertoires des Maitres en Théologie de Paris au XIII^e Siècle (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1933), p. 12.

²⁵Rashdall, op. cit., pp. 440-444.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷"Rules of the University of Paris, 1215," op. cit., p. 28.

²⁸"Dominican Studies, 1228," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 40.

See Chapter IV, Section II where liberal studies become optional.

"Dispensation" portends of things to come and on April 23, 1231, Pope Gregory IX, though renewing the interdiction against Aristotle, revealed that an evolution had taken place in the interval.²⁹ It was still forbidden to teach Aristotle's Physics, but only until it had been submitted to censorship and purged of error.³⁰ "Ten days later the pope appointed . . . a . . . commission to carry out this task of revision . . .³¹ From 1231 on, however, Aristotle's writings on physics and metaphysics permeated everywhere and did not cease to gain ground.

With an abundance of new materials, and the increasing passion for debate, "errors" crept in to the faculty of theology resulting in the disapproval of ten propositions against theological truth in 1241³²--indicating an extreme boldness in study and debate.

The period from 1244-1247 witnessed a series of attacks on Jewish writings and particularly the Talmud³³ on grounds that they contained blasphemies against Christianity. The papal legate permitted the return of the proscribed works, but later, claiming to have been misled, reimposed the ban.

And it would be no small scandal and an everlasting reproach to the apostolic see, if books so solemnly and so justly burned

²⁹Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 227.

³⁰Hilgers, passim., pp. 519-527.

³¹Gilson, op. cit., p. 245.

³²See Appendix B.

³³Feret, op. cit., p. 214.

in the presence of the university of scholars and the clergy and people of Paris should be returned to the Jewish rabbis.³⁴

In A.D. 1247 Jean de Brescain's association with the Arian heresy and a misrepresentation of the "creative light"³⁵ concept of the Franciscan school resulted in the condemnation of his works.³⁶

It appears that pontifical interdictions reacted differently upon arts and theology. Although the development of Aristotelian philosophy was impeded until 1240, evidence indicates it never ceased to be studied. The teaching of logic continued uninterrupted from the last years of the twelfth century up to 1250, "but there is no written evidence of any philosophical activity in the fields of natural science or of metaphysics . . . prior to about 1240."³⁷ In the faculty of theology the pontifical interdictions achieved their true end.

Concretely speaking, this meant that professors of theology should content themselves with teaching straight theology, and never handle problems that could not be settled by resorting to revelation or to the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The order was obeyed, and, as it seems, willingly.³⁸

³⁴"Condemnation of the Talmud Renewed, 1244," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 204.

³⁵"Light metaphysics" is an expansion of Augustine's theology. It is often associated with the Franciscan school at Oxford and particularly with Robert Grosseteste. Insofar as this development is exceptional--though interesting to scholastic thought--it is treated with the ideas of Grosseteste, a man who was unique and to an extent, an offshoot of medieval scholasticism. See Appendix C.

³⁶Feret, op. cit., pp. 221-222.

³⁷Gilson, loc. cit.

³⁸Ibid., p. 246.

In 1252, the "Statutes of the Artists of the English Nation Concerning Bachelors of Arts Who Are to Determine During Lent" prescribed the following curricula: The old logic of Aristotle, namely, the Praedicamenta and Periarmeniae, the Six Principles, the Topics and the Divisions, the Prior and Posterior Analytics, the Priscian maior and minor, the Barbarismus and the de Anima.³⁹

After 1250, ecclesiastical prohibitions ceased though warnings continued. Nevertheless, by 1255, Aristotle was restored in total, and excepting the prohibition of William of Saint-Armour's⁴⁰ de Pericules⁴¹ on October 5, 1256, the curricula for all intents and purposes remained unaffected. A tenseness, however, was in the air and what once was merely a graying of scholastic orthodoxy soon became a darkening storm culminating in the condemnations of 1270 and 1277.

III. THE CRISIS OF 1277

Although Aristotle's scientific treatises had been accepted in arts, it did not mean that philosophers were free to teach philosophy in complete disregard of theological orthodoxy. It is Pieper's contention

39 "Rules for Determinations in Arts, 1252," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 53-54.

40 The attack on William of Saint-Armour is but part of the larger "mendicant question"--a development significant to both arts and theology. See Appendix D.

41 Glorieux, op. cit., p. 14. The de Pericules attacks the papal policy of Pope Alexander IV on the "mendicant problem" and thereby indirectly affects the curriculum in theology. P. McKeon, "The Status of the University of Paris as Parens Scientiarum; An Episode in the Development of Its Autonomy," Speculum XXXIX (October, 1964), 672-673.

that the repeal of 1255 "implanted. . . . that seed from which an anti-Christian 'heterodox' brand of Aristotelianism was very soon to sprout."⁴²

Bonaventure, as early as 1245, questioned the audacity displayed by some masters in philosophical inquiry,⁴³ and "in 1268 his lectures On the Gifts of the Holy Ghost directly attacked . . . certain . . . positions held by the Averroists."⁴⁴ Insofar as Averroism was central to the interdictions of 1270 and 1277, Knowles presents two schools of thought:

Whereas Mandonnet and his followers had seen Siger as a follower of Averroes, a disingenuous proclaimer of the 'double truth,' and a heterodox Aristotelian, Van Steenberghen sees him as an upholder of integral Aristotelianism by no means committed to an acceptance of the doctrines of Averroes, a sincere Christian faced with a genuine intellectual problem. The debate on these latter points continues after twenty years, with Gilson and Van Steenberghen as the opposing champions.⁴⁵

In 1267, Siger's doctrines on the eternity of the world and unicity of the human intellect were attacked.⁴⁶ When brought to the attention of the bishop of Paris, Etienne Tempier in 1270, condemnations were enacted on thirteen articles Averroistic in origin.⁴⁷

Between the period 1272 to 1275 several decrees, directed against

⁴²J. Pieper, Scholasticism (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 108.

⁴³Gilson, op. cit., p. 402.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 403.

⁴⁵Knowles, op. cit., p. 270.

⁴⁶Forest, F. Van Steenberghen and M. de Gandillac, Histoire de L'Église. Le Mouvement Doctrinal du IX^e Siècle, p. 269.

⁴⁷Feret, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 131-132.

Averroism,⁴⁸ were identified with Aquinas through their Aristotelian heritage. Thus, in 1277, Tempier hurriedly proscribed 179 philosophical and forty theological errors.⁴⁹

The condemned propositions were not all Averroist . . . some attacked Saint Thomas's philosophy; several . . . resembled theses upheld by the dialecticians of the twelfth century; in short, . . . this condemnation included a sort of polymorphic naturalism stressing the rights of pagan nature against Christian nature, of philosophy against theology, of reason against faith.⁵⁰

Not only the Paris condemnations were Thomistic, for a few days later, the Dominican Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby,⁵¹ disapproved a series of related theses in what Pieper calls a "tendentious partisan plot."⁵² Although Thomism eventually triumphed as the official Dominican philosophy,⁵³ aspects of its thought were attacked as late as 1286.⁵⁴

1277 is thus a pivotal point and a medieval landmark, not only for its effect in suppressing specific works and doctrinal positions, but in paralyzing creative scholastic thought. A suspicion directed towards

⁴⁸De Wulf, History of Medieval Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 108.

⁴⁹Forest, Van Steenberghen and de Gandillac, op. cit., p. 303.

⁵⁰Gilson, op. cit., p. 406.

⁵¹D. Callus, The Condemnation of St. Thomas at Oxford (Oxford: Blackfriars Publications, 1946), p. 12.

⁵²Pieper, op. cit., p. 130.

⁵³See Chapter IV, Section II.

⁵⁴Callus, op. cit., p. 38.

philosophy replaced the spirit of confident collaboration which had "generally prevailed, from the beginning of the century in the minds of theologians."⁵⁵ This opposition, which assisted in the development of the philosophies of Scotus and Occam, revolted against Greek necessitarianism. Theology and philosophy became so separated that even the Church in 1304, alarmed at the turn of events, reproved Occamist errors which denied the value of "subject matter" as against "literal meaning."⁵⁶

Thus the Church with specific duties of interdiction or approval, officially supplemented the cultural and intellectual factors that affected curriculum in arts and theology.

⁵⁵ Gilson, op. cit., p. 408.

⁵⁶ "Occamist Errors Reproved," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 196.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The influences upon curriculum in institutions of learning are mainly dependent on two factors: what is demanded by society and what by way of intellectual heritage is available to and imposes itself upon the institution.

These factors act upon the program of studies in at least three ways. First, the curriculum may be in a state of stagnation and, owing to the conservative expectations of society, any changes or additions to the program would be rejected. It may be in a state of semi-stationary equilibrium and new materials would slowly infiltrate the course of studies. Or the curriculum may undergo a dramatic change with the appearance of new texts and ideas, and a new outlook upsets the semi-stationary condition, thus adding vitality to the learning situation.

This last condition is often most desirable but nevertheless fraught with dangers, for a rapidly changing curriculum may alarm the conservative as well as excite the radical forces, and the possibility of repressive measures being exerted on the new intellectual atmosphere becomes real.

The interplay of the above forces are evident in the factors determining curriculum in the faculties of arts and theology in the medieval universities. In this regard, the investigation has prompted the following observations. First, the expectations of medieval society affected the nature of studies. Society in the Middle Ages was based on the Christian ethic, thus extending the influence of the Church directly or

indirectly to most aspects of life. The university, at first dependent on the Church for support, prepared a vast number of students for clerical occupations, and these occupations required a fundamental grasp of Christian theology. Government positions were also associated with university education and the need for such state officials as notaries which, among other subjects, emphasized the need for grammar and rhetoric. Thus the nature of the trivium and quadrivium were partially determined by societal demands.

Second, the revival of commerce and the growth of town life assisted in making leisure time more available, thereby allowing individuals freedom to pursue studies at various levels.

Third, the classical heritage of Greece and Rome acted as key determinants of curriculum in arts, as exemplified in Aristotle's logic and Cicero's rhetoric, which formed part of the trivium. It is also significant that the pattern of the Seven Liberal Arts was set by the beginning of the fifth century. This tradition tended to prescribe the breadth of the arts curriculum. The influence of the Greeks and Romans, prior to 1200, was thus important in guiding the writings of Boethius, Alexander Villa-Dei and Abelard as they in turn affected the program of studies.

Fourth, curriculum in theology was dependent on the foundations of early Christian thought. The writings of the apologists and the Fathers provided an elaboration of the revealed Word. Before the arrival of Greco-Arabic learning, two divergent approaches were noted. The first of these was that of Tatian who stressed belief on faith alone, while the

second was that of Augustine who fused neoplatonism, natural theology and the teachings of the Master into a "Christian Wisdom." The tension between the above methods provided the stimulation for the writing of texts and for the doctrinal positions held by Abelard in his Sic et Non and Peter Lombard in his Sentences. Others, such as John the Scot and St. Anselm clarified the nature of faith and indicated the possibility of applying logic to it.

Fifth, the Judaeo-Arabic learning, arriving about 1200, upset the semi-stationary curriculum by stimulating the growth of philosophical and theological ideas. Averroes, Avicenna, Maimonides and others translated from the writings of the Greeks, and thus supplied additional tools of logic and principles of philosophy for studies in arts and theology. The questions they raised and their methods of discussion were carefully observed by the Europeans who were quick to adapt them to scholasticism. Awakened intellectual interest accompanied the study of the complete Aristotle. Its application to theology and philosophy by Aquinas and Siger shook the foundations of classical Platonic Augustinism. The resulting tension between the forces of tradition and change was felt at the very roots of curriculum, not only in theology, but also in arts, for now the trivium, except for logic, placed second to the quadrivium, and such "schools" as Oxford and Vienna extolled the virtues of geometry, physics and mathematics.

Sixth, the curriculum of the faculty of arts served as a preparation for advanced work in theology, medicine and law. Because of this, the arts curriculum was in turn influenced by these higher faculties.

Seventh, Church and university statutes, through their interdiction or approval of texts were both an aid and a handicap to arts and theological studies. The medieval Church, acting as the supervisor of thought, condemned the writings of Aristotle as early as 1210. In 1255, however, the texts of the "Philosopher" were accepted in curriculum, and a flourishing of creative ideas took place which advanced the state of academic studies, as indicated by the writings of St. Thomas and St. Albert. With the year 1277, the prohibitionary powers of the Church were exercised, and curriculum in arts and theology once again succumbed to the forces of tradition.

The foregoing statements indicate some of the more significant factors influencing the nature of curriculum in the faculties of arts and theology, and function as possible guideposts for additional investigations of the course of studies in the other faculties of the medieval university.

APPENDIX A

PRE-UNIVERSITY STUDIES

Pre-university studies for arts' entrance essentially involved a functional knowledge of Latin¹ and in some instances French.

The normal undergraduate came to Cambridge when he was 14 or 15, or even younger, and the general course of study in Arts lasted for seven years, though only a minority of those who entered completed it. The entrants were expected to know no more than reading, writing and a little Latin, and, in early times, the knowledge of the last subject of *grammatica*, representing the first part of the trivium or primary course of study, would be gained at the university itself, though this became less common later.²

In his "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England," Brother Bonaventure specifies the proposed content:

Grammar, . . . comprises four principal parts, namely, orthography, prosody, etymology and syntax. Orthography teaches the beginner how to spell and write Latin words, prosody to read aloud correctly, while syntax includes both the rules and their application in the construction of sentences.³

M. Lobel makes the following remark:

A late 14-century statute tells us that the master had to give his pupils verses to compose and letters to write, taking care about choice of words, length of clauses and so on.

¹A. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1915), p. 195 and H. Parker, "The Seven Liberal Arts," The English Historical Review V (July, 1890), 423.

²J. Roach, "The University of Cambridge," A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, (ed.) R. Pugh (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 157

³Brother Bonaventure, "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England," Medieval Studies XXIII (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1961). p. 4.

These exercises they had to write out on parchment on a holiday, and repeat them by heart on the following day. Precaution was to be taken that nothing should corrupt the morals of the young.⁴

The issue of morality in pre-university studies as part of the whole medieval outlook is underlined in the following excerpt:

The second fact to be observed is the didactic nature of the literature. It is predominantly moral in Cato . . . and . . . religious and instructional in the *Liber Penitentialis*, or primarily concerned with good manners. . . . Considered from this point of view, these Latin readers constitute a broad educational programme that extends quite beyond any merely functional role in the learning of Latin.⁵

The extent to which the above preparation was sufficient for university entrance is questioned by Mallett: "Once the elements of grammar had been mastered, and often before their Latinity was adequate to their needs, students could enter the regular arts course."⁶

⁴M. Lobel, "The Grammar-Schools of the Medieval University," The Victoria History of the Country of Oxford (eds.) H. Salter and M. Lobel (London: University of Oxford Press, 1954), p. 41.

⁵Bonaventure, op. cit., p. 11.

⁶Mallett, The Medieval University and the Colleges Founded in the Middle Ages, p. 182.

APPENDIX B

ERRORS CONDEMNED AT PARIS, 1241¹

These are articles disapproved as against theological truth and disapproved by the chancellor of Paris, Eudes, and the masters teaching theology at Paris, A.D. 1240, the second Sunday after the octave of the Nativity.

First, that the divine essence in itself will be seen neither by man nor by angel.

This error we condemn, and we excommunicate those asserting and defending it, . . . Moreover, we firmly believe and assert that God in his essence or substance will be seen by angels and all saints and is seen by souls in glory.

Second, that it may be the divine essence is one in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, nevertheless with respect to form it is one in Father and Son but not one in these with the Holy Spirit, and yet this form is the same as the divine essence.

We reprove this error, for we firmly believe that there is one essence or substance in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the same essence with respect to form.

Third, that the Holy Spirit as a bond or love, does not proceed from the Son but merely from the Father.

We reprove this error, for we firmly believe that as a bond or love it proceeds from both.

¹Feret, La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et Ses Docteurs Les Plus Célèbres, Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

Fourth, that souls in glory are not in the empyrean heaven with the angels, nor will glorified bodies be there, but in the aqueous or crystalline heaven which is above the firmament, which also is stated of the blessed Virgin.

This error we reprove, for we firmly believe that there will be some corporal place, . . . for angels and sainted souls and glorified bodies.

Fifth, that the evil angel was evil in the beginning of his creation and never was anything except evil.

This error we reprove, for we firmly believe that he was created good and afterwards by sinning became evil.

Sixth, that an angel in the same instant can be in different places and be everywhere, if he wishes.

We reprove this error, for we believe that an angel is in a defined space, so that, if he is here, he is not at the same instant there; for it is impossible that he be everywhere, for this is proper to God alone.

Seventh, that there are many eternal truths which are not God.

This error we reprove, for we firmly believe that there is only one eternal truth which is God.

Eighth, that now first and creation-passivity cannot be created.

This error we reprove, for we firmly believe that it is both created and creature.

Ninth, that he who has superior natural advantages of necessity will have more grace and glory.

This error we reprove, for we firmly believe that God, according as he has pre-elected and foreordained, will give unto each grace and glory.

Tenth, that the evil angel never had any standing ground, nor even Adam in the state of innocence.

This error we reprove, for we firmly believe that both had means to stand but not to progress.

APPENDIX C

ROBERT GROSSETESTE

The mark of genius is often reflected in the ability to excel in diverse but complementary tasks. Such was the case of theologian-philosopher Robert Grosseteste (circa 1168-1253), who in his Christian life, exercised a stern morality in practical affairs with a scientific bent in philosophical matters.¹

Born into a poor family in Suffolk, England, Grosseteste coupled an excellence of character and industry with a sound knowledge of the liberal arts and literature.² He pursued university studies at Oxford and later at Paris, where his studying and teaching of theology acquainted him with the Paris curriculum as well as the French language. He returned to Oxford and, with the exception of a second visit to Paris, remained in Oxford until elected Bishop of Lincoln in 1235.³ Thereafter his travels outside England were associated with ecclesiastical issues that required much energy throughout his life.

Although concerned with questions of speculation, the many activities of Grosseteste reflected interests which "were mainly moral rather than logical or metaphysical."⁴ In addition, however, to assisting the

¹Copleston, Medieval Philosophy, p. 80.

²Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln, p. 13.

³F. Urquhart, "Grosseteste," The Catholic Encyclopedia, (1910) VII, p. 37.

⁴Ibid.

Friars Minor, reforming monasteries, and opposing abuses of both ecclesiastical and civil administration, he succeeded in completing numerous discourses, treatises and sermons in theology, translating works of Christian antiquity, and commenting upon Aristotle's Posterior Analytics, Sophisticated Arguments and Physics. His own publications include On the Truth of Proposition, On Bodily Movements and Light, On the Limits of Motion and Time and others in the fields of theology and natural science.⁵ Approaching his studies with a Christian mind, the characteristics of Grosseteste's teachings were: a textual and critical study of the Bible as a basis of theology; the study of languages, especially Greek; an interest in working with original sources and faithful translations; and an attention to mathematics and related sciences.⁶

Thus, with theology and natural science looming large in the background, we turn to an investigation of the Bishop of Lincoln's thought.

II. GROSSETESTE AND HIS THOUGHT

Evidenced in Grosseteste's speculation is a "union of ideality and reality"⁷ which is mainly but not exclusively a combination of Neo-

⁵H. Hirschberger, The History of Philosophy (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1958), p. 385.

⁶Stevenson, op. cit., p. 20.

⁷Hirschberger, op. cit., p. 387.

platonism--the Augustinian⁸ variety--and natural philosophy.⁹ Scientific method, which is most significant to Grosseteste's philosophy, employs both inductive and deductive techniques. His position is revealed in the following excerpt:

The way of knowledge is from confusedly known whole complete objects . . . into the parts themselves by which it is possible to define the whole object itself, and from definition to return to determinate knowledge of the whole object . . .¹⁰

This procedure leads to what A. Maurer notes as the "universal experimental principle" from which particular occurrences are thus deduced.¹¹ Grosseteste argues that the purpose of experiment is to verify or falsify a theory by testing its empirical consequences--for man's intelligence is "weighted down by the body" and the procedures of science and experiment are able to awaken man to divine ideas in the soul.¹²

Closely allied to Grosseteste's scientific thinking is his conviction that mathematics is the most certain knowledge, which in some ways surpasses that which is known by metaphysics. The diffusion and propoga-

⁸Copleston, Medieval Philosophy, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 259.

⁹In presenting the ideas of Robert Grosseteste, I will examine his scientific method and metaphysics of light embodying the theory of knowledge, truth, and the concept of God.

¹⁰A. Crombie, Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 55 citing Robert Grosseteste, Commentaries in VIII Libros Physicorum Aristotelis Oxford MSS Merton 295, c. 1395, ff. 120^r; Digby 220, 15C., 84^r - 105^r.

¹¹A. Maurer, Medieval Philosophy (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 120.

¹²Ibid., p. 121.

tion of light, a central concept in his metaphysics, operates in conjunction with geometrical laws. He explains:

The usefulness of considering lines, angles and figures is the greatest, because it is impossible to understand natural philosophy without these. They are efficacious throughout the universe as a whole and its parts, and in related properties, as in rectilinear and circular motion. They are efficacious also in cause and effect, and this whether in matter or in the senses.¹³

The preceding discussion of scientific method directs us to the question of truth and certitude in Grosseteste's thought, which is immediately connected with his metaphysics of light.

The concept of Grosseteste's metaphysics hinges on light--in a corporeal and incorporeal form. Concerning the nature of light, Gilson observes that in the beginning, God created simultaneously and ex nihilo both form and matter.¹⁴

Form is inseparable from matter and matter cannot be deprived of form . . . given a point of light, a sphere of light is produced instantaneously, . . . and the self-diffusion of a light point must needs produce a material sphere . . . the very universe we contemplate.¹⁵

When light reaches its limits of diffusion, it is reflected back as lumen, creating nine heavenly spheres and the elements of fire, air, water and

¹³Crombie, op. cit., p. 110, citing Robert Grosseteste's De Lineis, Angulis et Figuris, Oxford MS Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 644, 13C., ff. 207 vb - 208 vb.

¹⁴Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 262.

¹⁵Ibid.

earth.¹⁶ Grosseteste proceeds, and argues that the first corporeal form must be nobler than other corporeal forms because of its affinity to forms existing apart from matter--God and the angels. Light meets both requirements because "it is more exalted, and excellent than all corporeal things and it is most similar to immaterial forms."¹⁷ Matter becomes a passive form and is the intrinsic principle of movement and action of bodies.

Paralleling corporeal light and its relation to sensible things, is a spiritual light illuminating intelligible things. This is comparable to God's action upon the world as the soul's action upon the senses and whole body of man. The soul which is blinded by the love of its body by purification becomes open to the influence of divine Ideas, and it discerns by this light the truth of things, which are so to speak their reflections.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Maurer, op. cit., p. 123.

¹⁸Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 264. In considering the question of divine Ideas the following cases are presented:

(1) "There is no question of introducing an Aristotelian active intellect, for there is no Aristotelian abstraction." L. E. Lynch, "The Doctrine of Divine Ideas and Illumination in Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln," Medieval Studies. III, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies Toronto, Canada (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941), p. 172.

(2) "Absolute metaphysical certainty about necessary truth, or reality could be obtained Grosseteste held, only by Divine Illumination. He supported this theory by means of Aristotle's idea that things more abstracted from sense were prior in the order of nature, though less knowable to man." Crombie, op. cit., p. 134.

Since the truth of each thing is the conformity of it to its reason in the eternal Word, it is evident that every created truth is seen only in the light of the supreme Truth.¹⁹

Thus, absolute metaphysical certainty about necessary truth or reality could be obtained only by divine Illumination.

This raises the question of God and man in the Bishop's thought which is interpreted by A. Maurer as follows:

God . . . (is) the primal, invisible, and uncreated light, and the hierarchy of creatures, embracing angels, human souls, and heavenly bodies, and the physical beings in the lower world, as a series of lights of diminishing splendor. In Grosseteste's world, light thus furnishes the bond between God and creatures.²⁰

The whole of Grosseteste's teaching is crowned by his conception of God who is the Form of forms--the Form in the sense of an archetype.²¹

Although "emanation" frequently occurs in Robert Grosseteste's metaphysics of light, pantheism is non-existent, for the complete

¹⁹R. McKeon, editor, Selections from Medieval Philosophers (Vol. I of 2 vols.: New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 272. An excellent example of light and the truth of things is clearly presented by L. Lynch in the ensuing excerpt: "The weak eyes of the body only see colored bodies in the light of the sun spread upon them. They are . . . unable to look upon the sun's brilliance in itself. So, too, the eyes of the mind look upon the truth of things only in the light of the supreme Truth and yet cannot bear to let their gaze fall on that supreme Truth itself. They can do so only in a kind of conjunction and super-fusion of true things. It is only in some such way Grosseteste thinks, that many impure men see the supreme truth and yet do not know that they see it." Lynch, op. cit., p. 171.

²⁰Maurer, op. cit., p. 122.

²¹A thorough exploration of man's relationship to God in Grosseteste's thought is found in J. T. Muckle, "The Hexameron of Robert Grosseteste. The First Twelve Chapters of Part Seven," Medieval Studies, (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1944), pp. 151-174.

transcendence and unity²² of God remains intact and is guaranteed by His other attribute of eternity.²³

The speculation of Grosseteste, dependent on a partial synthesis of pagan learning and Christian Wisdom, thus signalled the near arrival of the "Golden Age of Scholasticism."

²²P. Vignaux, Philosophy in the Middle Ages: An Introduction (New York: Meridian Books Inc., 1959), p. 93.

²³Hirschberger, op. cit., p. 387.

APPENDIX D

THE MENDICANT QUESTION AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

P. McKeon, discussing the "mendicant question" at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, argues the following:

The problem which faced the papacy was to develop a well-trained clergy, and to establish for this purpose a strong center of theological study which would be, particularly in respect of curriculum, a universal organ of papal policy.

This difficulty was solved by the creation of the mendicant orders,² the "Dominicans devoted to their original ideal of a teaching Order" and the Franciscans who "preserved their original mission as preachers of the elementary and essential Christian truths to the common people."³ The proselytical nature of these organizations required educated theologians who were soon assimilated into the large centers of learning.⁴

Hardly are they founded before they establish themselves at Paris in 1217 and 1219 respectively; they create in the young University centre separate establishments of advanced studies, "studia generalia," for their own members.⁵

Curricula were similar to those of the universities and the qualifications

¹P. McKeon, "The Status of the University of Paris as Parens Scientarium: An Episode in the Development of Its Autonomy," Speculum XXXIX (October, 1964), 652.

²Dominicans and Franciscans were the most popular mendicant orders but others such as the Augustinians and Austin Friars also appeared at this time. P. Hughes, The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils 325-1870 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961), p. 273.

³Dawson, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture, p. 213.

⁴Rashdall, The Rise of Universities in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, p. 371

⁵De Wulf, Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages, p. 75.

of the teachers parallel to but not dependent upon those required by universities.⁶ It was a university distributed in the convents.

Royal and papal support were tied to this question.⁷ Paris was formally chartered in 1200 by Philip Augustus⁸ with papal directives regulating curriculum to combat the Albigensian heretics.⁹ Friction generated between the papacy and the particularism of episcopal and royal authority was observed as the mendicants were absorbed into the faculty of theology, thereby complicating an already delicate problem.

The friars had come to Paris before the regulations of the university had crystallized¹⁰ and had from the beginning adhered very loosely to all ordinances. Although welcomed at first, the Franciscans and Dominicans eventually aroused opposition of both university and local ecclesiastical authorities as indicated in the following testimonial:¹¹

⁶Rashdall, loc. cit.

⁷F. Pegues, "Royal Support of Students in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum (Medieval Academy of America, Vol. XXXI, 1956), passim and D. Watt, "University Clerks and Rolls of Petitions for Benefices," Speculum (Medieval Academy of America, Vol. XXXIV, 1959), passim.

⁸"Charter of the Pope to the University of Paris, 1231," N. Downs (ed.) Basic Documents in Medieval History (New York: Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1959), pp. 136-138.

⁹Hughes, op. cit., p. 236.

¹⁰Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 231.

¹¹Mallett examines the "mendicant question" at Oxford. Events there followed a pattern similar to that of Paris but the nature of difficulties were not as pronounced. Mallett, The Medieval University and the Colleges Founded in the Middle Ages, pp. 54-78.

That there were too many friars seems to have been generally agreed, and it was inevitable that Orders of uncloistered regulars should provoke . . . jealousy among the monks and that the secular clergy should resent the intrusion of the friars as preachers and confessors into the organization of the parishes. . . .¹²

Three crucial factors increased opposition to the friars:

1. Religious orders, at first, did not advocate arts training as required by secular theologians.¹³ Arts professors and seculars opposed this liberty.
2. Mendicants, because of their extreme devotion to study and teaching, were popular instructors--much to the dismay of the seculars.¹⁴
3. Theology students were relatively few--too few in number for both secular and regular teachers.¹⁵

These developments were aggravated in 1229 when a cessation of lectures over a "town and gown" dispute provided the occasion for the friars to open their doors to any remaining students--thereby crippling the

¹²M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 309-310.

¹³P. Mandonnet, "Preachers," The Catholic Encyclopedia (1914), XII, 361.

¹⁴Daly, The Medieval University, p. 207.

¹⁵Thorndike cites a papal letter of Innocent III of 1207 limiting the number of professors of theology to eight. ". . . it is becoming that their numbers be limited lest perchance because of a burdensome multitude which has nothing to recommend it, either their function be cheapened or less satisfactorily executed. . . ." "Professors of Theology at Paris Limited to Eight, 1207," in L. Thorndike (ed.), University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 25-26.

Following the above occurrences, another series of events furthered existing difficulties. The entrance of John St. Giles to the Dominicans and Alexander of Hales to the Franciscans, both secular masters, established the precedent of occupying theological chairs in the convents without formal application to the chancellor or without becoming members of the college of masters. The situation became acute in 1250 when Pope Innocent IV approved the licensing of friars by the university chancellor.¹⁷ In 1251, the seculars retorted with the following statute against the mendicants:

' . . . no religious not having a College at Paris' should be admitted to the society of Masters, that each religious college should in future be content with one master and one school, and that no bachelor should be promoted to a chair unless he had already lectured in the schools of an actually regent master, i.e. a master recognized as such by the faculty.¹⁸

All was quiet until 1253-1254 when Lenten riots caused another cessation of classes. The mendicants disobeyed the cessation, and upon their explosion from the university, appealed unsuccessfully to Rome. On November 21, 1254, Pope Innocent IV, finally supported the seculars' position by issuing the bull Etsi animarum.¹⁹

Innocent intended a reaffirmation of papal supervision and control. But this appearance was illusory, for Etsi animarum,

¹⁶ Knowles, op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁷ Daly, op. cit., p. 206.

¹⁸ Rashdall, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 377.

¹⁹ McKeon, op. cit., p. 657.

by its recognition of a specific and permanent function of the proprius sacerdos, a function improperly appropriated by the mendicant orders, opened the way for a contestation of papal authority itself²⁰ if a future pontiff should re-constitute those orders. . . .

This was precisely the case fourteen days after the untimely death of Innocent IV when Alexander IV, the new pontiff reversed Innocent's decision and reinstated the mendicants in the bull Quasi lignum vitae.²²

Upon receiving this blow, the secular masters dissolved their society and boycotted the friars. The unpopularity of the friars increased and they required the protection of royal troops,²³ not only from the rage of the seculars but from the populace at large, who would use any occasion "to heap garbage on their heads"²⁴ as they begged the streets of Paris.

²⁰"Not every papal command imposed an immediate obligation of obedience on the recipient; the principle laid down in the Decretals was, 'Papal commands are to be obeyed or letters sent explaining why they cannot be obeyed. We are no longer accustomed to think of papal provisions in general as acts of arbitrary despotism but rather, in Powicke's phrase, as 'a reflection, a symbol of the complicated texture of ecclesiastical life.' The law of the Church took heed of the 'complicated texture' by providing numerous grounds for contesting the validity of a papal rescript. The Pope's letter might conflict with another papal command, it might not reflect accurately the Pope's intention, it might have been obtained by misrepresentation, it might conflict with the common law of the Church concerning 'idoneity' of clerks for benefices." B. Tierney, "Grosseteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VI (1955), 2.

²¹McKeon, op. cit., pp. 657-658.

²²Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 392-393.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Daly, op. cit., p. 207.

Supplementary to these facts were the pulpit and pamphlet attack of secular master Willian of St. Amour,²⁵ impinging the ideal of poverty and mendicancy, and denying the right of the friars to partake in the pastoral work of the Church.²⁶ The writings, however, were condemned by the pope, but a reconciliation between mendicants and seculars, advocated by King Louis IX, the archbishop of Sens, Rheims, Bourges and Rouen, removed much of the tension between the groups.²⁷

In 1259, a peaceful settlement was achieved and in 1261, Pope Urban IV excluded regulars from the ranks of faculty, limited Dominican theology chairs to two, and affirmed that secular students incept under secular doctors.²⁸

The overall effect of this controversy was twofold: first, the faculty of theology became dependent upon the faculty of arts for survival and second, the need for co-operative financing and regular payments on behalf of the students in order to combat the mendicants assisted in consolidating the university.²⁹

²⁵"As part of the program of general agitation the university in 1254 . . . sent to Rome a schedule of thirty-one errors compiled from the Joachite Introductorius in aevangelium aeternum and from the Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti. . . ." of Joachim himself. McKeon, op. cit. p. 659.

²⁶The Joachimite position, accepted by many of the mendicants, is elaborated below: "There would no longer be a Church; the pope would joyfully resign his power to a new order of contemplatives . . . vowed to absolute poverty; . . . Pope, cardinals, hierarchy, systematic theology, canon law--these would not only disappear but their very presence and survival were, at this moment, hindrances that delayed the coming of the new age." Hughes, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁷McKeon, op. cit., pp. 673-675.

²⁸Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 392-393.

²⁹Ibid., p. 394.

APPENDIX E

CHRONOLOGY

c. 430 B.C. Anaxagoras. Life and teachings.

387 B.C. Plato establishes "Academy" at Athens.

c. 350 B.C. Aristotle. Life and teachings.

A.D. c. 30 Life and teachings of Christ

A.D. c. 150 Tatian. Patristic writer

A.D. c. 180 Tertullian. Patristic writer.

A.D. c. 250 Plotinus. Life and writings.

A.D. c. 300 Life and commentaries of Porphyry.

A.D. c. 400 Life and writings of St. Augustine.

A.D. c. 500 Life and writings of Boethius.

A.D. c. 800 Scotus Eruigena. Life and writings.

A.D. c. 1000 Life and writings of Avicenna.

A.D. c. 1050 Ibn Gabirol. Jewish thinker in Neoplatonic tradition.

A.D. c. 1050 St. Anselm applies use of reason to mysteries of faith.

A.D. 1100 Ars dictandi established at Bologna.

A.D. 1114 Stephen of Pisa translating at Constantinople.

A.D. 1124 Abelard writes Sic et Non.

A.D. 1145 Peter Lombard writes his Sentences.

A.D. c. 1150 Life and writings of Domenic Gundiralvi.

A.D. c. 1154 Eugene the Emir translating Ptolemy.

A.D. 1190 Averroes commenting on Aristotle.

A.D. c. 1197 Alexander Villa-Dei writes the Doctinale

A.D. c. 1200 Founding of University of Paris.

A.D. 1210 Condemnations of Aristotle, Amaury of Bene and David of Dinant.

A.D. 1215 Robert de Courcon's "Rules for the University of Paris."

A.D. 1220 Michael Scot translating in Spain.

A.D. 1228 Dominicans warned not to study pagan philosophers.

A.D. 1231 Papal regulations for the University of Paris by Gregory IX.

A.D. 1240 Life and writings of Robert Grosseteste.

A.D. 1243 Albertus Magnus writes his Summa.

A.D. 1244 Condemnations of the Talmud and other Jewish writings.

A.D. 1247 Interdiction of Jean de Brescain's writings.

A.D. 1255 Aristotle's writings officially approved at Paris.

A.D. 1256 William of St. Amour's de Periculis prohibited.

A.D. 1270 Bishop Tempier condemns Averroism.

A.D. 1272 Aquinas comments on Aristotle. Completes the Summa Theologica.

A.D. 1277 Bishop Tempier condemns 219 philosophico-theological errors. Some Thomistic in nature.

A.D. 1286 Aquinas' writings prohibited at Oxford.

A.D. c. 1300 Life and writings of Duns Scotus.

A.D. 1313 Dominicans officially adopt Thomistic thought.

A.D. c. 1330 Life and writings of William of Occam.

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